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# Anglican Theological Review



EDITED BY

FREDERICK C. GRANT and BURTON S. EASTON

FOUNDED BY SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

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VOLUME XIII

OCTOBER, 1931

NUMBER 4

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## THE DIVINE WISDOM

By HERBERT H. GOWEN, University of Washington

In the several stages of Hebrew religion as described in the Old Testament times Israel had three types of teacher, in sequence, unfortunately,—though inevitably—rather than contemporaneously. First appeared the *Prophet*, with his appeal to feeling and the conscience, and revealing an historical development all the way from something closely resembling shamanism to the utterances of some of the world's greatest evangelists. Next came the *Priest*, with his religion of rite and ceremonial, and marking an evolution from a kind of primitive magic to the symbolic setting forth of a great ideal of holiness which was to include all humanity, all time, all space, all matter and every activity of man. Lastly came the *Sage*, product of influences arising both from within and without the nation of Israel, the teacher of a Wisdom which rises all the way from the shrewd common sense born out of the experience of the average man towards something depending upon an experience such as could only come from dwelling in the secret place of the tabernacle of God.

It should be manifest to the student of religion that no one of these three lines of development is represented as complete within the limits of the Old Testament revelation. The Old Testament dispensation is seen to be moving toward but never succeeds in revealing that ideal Israel with all its experience synthesised and embodied either in the individual or in the community. If all things described in the Old Testament are to be 'chaptered up'

in Christ, it is plain that the three lines of development to which we have referred can find their ultimate term in nothing short of Christ Himself and must in turn provide a point of departure for the history of the new dispensation.

In regard to two of the aforesaid lines this fact has been generally recognized. Christ has been acclaimed the supreme Prophet to whom all the prophets of the Old Testament bear witness. (*Cf. Heb. i: 1.*) Tissot, the French painter, has depicted the Cross on Calvary, at the moment when Christ cried, 'It is finished,' as surrounded by all the Hebrew prophets, who seem to say: 'This is what we wanted to express, but could not.' Moreover, as Clement of Alexandria and other Greek Fathers bear witness, what Christ did to make complete the testimony of the Old Testament prophets He did also for those of all mankind, back to the earliest strivers after truth among primitive men. Even the stammerers were made articulate for many through the presence of God's Holy Spirit in the world. Christ is also the supreme Priest. It is not for nothing that such books as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* insist upon the descent of Messiah from Levi, and that—while the legal descent of Jesus is traced through Joseph to the house of David—the descent through the Virgin Mary links Him rather with the priestly tribe. Nor is His connection merely with the priesthood of the line of Aaron. All priesthood—occupied as it was with the making of atonement between the human and the divine—from the beginning of human history finds itself fulfilled in the Great High Priest Who on Calvary offers one sacrifice for the sins of all mankind.

The above points, I repeat, have been generally conceded and countless books have treated of their unfolding. But, strangely enough, much less attention has been devoted to the equally important truth that Old Testament literature leads us inescapably to the revelation of Christ the *Sage* as well as to Christ the Prophet and to Christ the Priest. It is this neglected feature of the Messianic character I want, very briefly, to stress in the present paper.

Though the latest of the three types of teacher in the Hebrew

commonwealth, the Sage, or *Hakam*, was not entirely the result of contact with foreign peoples. Provided we realise that Hebrew Wisdom, or *Hokmah*, was not generally of the speculative sort, but was in the main the gathering up of the fruits of social and individual experience and the interpretation of that experience in a definitely religious and ethical way, we shall not find it hard to discover plenty of 'Wisdom' in the Old Testament literature prior to the days of the Persian and Greek hegemonies. We shall find it in proverbial expressions strewn hither and thither in the writings of the prophets and historians and we shall find it in apogees and parables such as that of Jotham in the *Book of Judges* and that of Nathan in the *Books of Samuel*. It is, indeed, of more than slight importance to realise that the leading of the Spirit of God is to be traced not merely in the ecstatic utterances of prophets and psalmists but is also to be recognized in the homely experiences of ordinary men and women everywhere. The inspiration of the Written Word, it is made clear, must go as deeply down into the experience of humanity as does the Incarnation of the Son of God into the life of all mankind. And, for the same reason, namely, that the Written Word and the Living Word alike shall express comprehensively the whole range of human life, Hebrew thought must not be without its recognizable contacts with the thought of the Gentiles. If the genealogies of Jesus are to make mention among His ancestresses of a Rahab, a Ruth and a Bathsheba, it should be no shock to the Bible reader to find, for example, in the Book of Proverbs (xxii: 17-xxiii: 11) the fragment of an 'ethical will' taken from the Egyptian *Instructions of Amenemope*, or that the Book *Qoheleth* (Eccles. ix: 7-9) contains a quotation from the yet older *Epic of Gilgamesh*, or that other books are colored with ideas derived from the religious literature of Persia, or that a book like the *Wisdom of Solomon* has been influenced by the Platonic doctrines of natural immortality and the pre-existence of the soul.

At the same time, with the recognition of the length of this base-line laid in the Hebrew scriptures, there must be the recog-

nition of the fact that the Wisdom Books of the Old Testament and the Wisdom Books of the Apocrypha—including such books as the *Wisdom of Solomon*, the *Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira* (*Ecclesiasticus*), *Baruch* and *IV Maccabees*—represent a very incomplete evolution considered by themselves. Much of the Wisdom herein contained is of a very pedestrian character and in certain places merely comparable to the advice of Polonius to his son Laertes or to the letters of Lord Chesterfield to Philip Stanhope. In general it has no outlook upon the world considered internationally, is largely concerned with merely material things, is defective in its conception of family relations and the position of woman (except as her industry, fidelity and frugality minister to the comfort of her lord). It is, again, generally content to rest upon the shrewd exploitation of accepted values, though occasionally disturbed by doubts and hesitations. Now and then it is even stirred into revolt against social and intellectual fetters which have been imposed by authority or tradition. Here and there it is darkened by a pessimism against which the only protection is the stoical resolve to hold fast at all costs upon God and the Law, perform the duty of one's station, and present to the world as cheerful a face as circumstances make possible. It may indeed be said that were it not for the fact that many of the Wisdom Books were attributed to Solomon, that some of them were not understood, or were revised to conform them to the orthodoxies of the time, and that some of them, again, were included because such doctrines as that of the Resurrection of the Dead had not yet been officially accepted, a good proportion of the Hebrew *Hokmah* would never have found its way into the Canon. It is one of the many evidences of God's providential oversight of the fortunes of the Church that utterances were saved for the future of religion which contemporary judgment could not possibly have appreciated. Even as it is we can well understand the bitter controversies which raged over certain books, as, for example, *Ecclesiastes*, between the schools of Hillel and Shammai. We are also helped to understand the difficulty many Christians have found in modern times, in spite of all his-

torical considerations, in connection with the inclusion of the books of the Apocrypha in the Christian Bible. All in all it must be said that the Wisdom Books of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha make a rather disappointing climax to the Canon unless we associate them with their proper New Testament *dénouement*. Even the New Testament *Hokmah* such as we have in the *Epistle of James*, the Brother of Jesus,—with its absence of all reference to any distinctive Christian doctrine, is a disappointment (by comparison with the writings of St. Paul or St. John) unless we see in it the proper liaison between Old Testament Wisdom and the revelation of Christ as “the Wisdom from above.”

So we arrive at the necessity of the manifestation of Christ as the supreme Sage, the *Hakam* before Whose Wisdom all other Wisdom must vanish even as Moses and Elijah vanished before the vision of the transfigured Jesus.

How readily the fact corresponds with the necessity! With one hand Jesus appears touching the experience of the common people, teaching the multitudes “with authority and not as the scribes.” The old-time Wisdom of Israel was dwindling away into a desert of trite rabbinism, such as we find later in the *Pirke Aboth*. Jesus struck for men the rock and gave to men athirst the water of life. And with the other hand He touched the world of the Gentiles and the wisdom that this world had accumulated in its treasure-house. It was not for nothing that the Wise Men from the East came to His cradle to confess Jesus as ‘*Magus magorum*'; it was not for nothing that Greeks came to His Passion to bow before the stupendous and hitherto undreamed of Wisdom of the Cross.

Let us consider, therefore, Christ the Sage, the Teacher Who came to give meaning to all the Wisdom of the past and so to lay new foundations for experience in the future.

First, we may discover unexpected significance in the *form* of Christ's teaching. Two examples immediately suggest themselves, namely, the *Sermon on the Mount* and the *Parables*. The *Sermon on the Mount*, as given by St. Matthew, presents Our

Lord as a teacher of *Hokmah* in the truest meaning of the term. Here we have the form of the Wisdom literature at its best. We have, for example, the confident appeal to the reasonableness of what is presented, while, at the same time, the authority of the teacher is illustrated by the large use made of the imperative mood. Just as the first word of the Gnomic Psalms (Pss. i: 1) is the word 'Happy' ('asher—not to be confused with the use of *baruk*, 'blessed'), so with the same word Our Lord commences the *Sermon on the Mount*. The age-long quest of the wise had been for human happiness and now the key to the treasure-house wherein the coveted jewel is to be found is offered to all men by the Divine Sage. As, again, it was part of the technique of the Wise Men of the Old Testament to set dramatically before men the contrast between the way of Wisdom and the way of Folly (*cf.* Pss. i and Prov. ix), so does Christ set forth the contrast between the wise man who builds his house upon the rock and the fool who attempts to build upon the sand. And as, once again, it was the special function of the Sage to expound the wisdom of the Law (*cf.* Pss. cxix), so Christ sets Himself to expound authoritatively the new Law of the Kingdom of Heaven. And as, too, in the old Wisdom (*cf.* Pss. lxxiii and the *Book of Job*) there were revolts on the part of reason and experience against certain elements of the hitherto accepted philosophy, so Christ puts over against the authority of the past the authority of a completer revelation from God with the words "But I say unto you." It is made plain that Wisdom is not so entirely dependent on past experience as to forbid the exploration of fresh paths under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit.

Similar comparisons are invited by a study of the *Parables*. The form is the same as that of the Old Testament Parables and yet not the same. We have the same homely similitudes drawn from the observation of Nature—

"The Sower flinging seeds on loam and rock;  
The darnel in the wheat; the mustard tree  
That hath its seed so little, and its boughs  
Wide-spreading; and the wandering sheep; and nets  
Shot in the wimpled waters—drawing forth  
Great fish and small."

The universe to which we are organically related is the wise man's book and it is truly one. The God of the physical world is also the God of grace. His wisdom is spread before the eyes of all men. To use the words of Keble,

"Two worlds are ours; 'tis only sin  
Forbids us to descry  
The mystic heaven and earth within,  
Plain as the sea and sky."

Yet how much truer is Christ to the understanding of Nature than was the Old Testament Hakam or than the nature-poets of the Gentile world! We are here no longer dependent on Beast Fables such as the Buddha employed for the *jātakas*. Fables and apolagues and allegories are alike discarded for a simpler and a sterner truth such as he who runs may read. Moreover, where birds and beasts and flowers are introduced for illustration, the thing illustrated is no mere humdrum, utilitarian virtue such as the thrift of the ant or the caution of the coney. The birds of the air are rather examples of faith than of prudence and the flowers of the fields are illustrations of a "toil unsevered from tranquility."

We are already passing, as was inevitable, from the consideration of *form* to that of *substance*. Nothing is more interesting and instructive to the careful student than the easy transition by which Christ passes from the Old Testament position, which has been proved untenable, to that of the New. The ultimate effect is that of contrast and contradiction, yet in everything we perceive fulfilment. Has the New Testament Wisdom a place for Prudence? Yes, surely. The Parable of the *Unjust Steward* (so-called) is the story of one who acted 'prudently.' But the prudence inculcated is something higher than that in vogue with 'the sons of the age.' It is seen to pass easily into that faith which, though it be (as Tagore puts it) 'the daughter of a gambler,' is yet prudence raised to its highest term. Does Christ, again, recommend Thrift? Yes, surely. But the laying up of treasure must be in some securer place than the world's vaults where rust and moth consume and thieves dig through to steal.

So the thrift *par excellence* is shown to be consistent with the sacrifice which seems to destroy things in order to eternalise them. And, once again, does Christ teach the setting of value upon life? Surely. But not life conceived merely as the physical acts of breathing, eating and drinking. Life must be envisaged as possessing the quality of eternity and to achieve this all else will readily be cast away. So we come quite naturally, it will appear, and on grounds furnished by the past experience of humanity, to the doctrine of the Cross which, though it appeared to the Jew a stumbling-block and to the Greek folly, was yet the supreme revelation of a Wisdom of which the sufferings of Job and the persecutions of the Maccabean era had been the distant fore-shadowings. There is the finality of Wisdom, and not its negation, in the saying: "He that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for My sake shall find it."

Thus in all things that Jesus taught we have the fulfilment of the Old Testament and not its cancellation. As no 'jot or tittle' of ancient prophecy remained unfulfilled, so no utterance of past Wisdom remained unvalidated when Jesus completed His work among men. We see already dawning for the sons of men that 'Happiness' of which the *Gnomic Psalms* made such frequent mention. We see the confirmation, through the Divine Incarnation and the Divine Passion and Resurrection, of those glimpses of kinship with the divine and of vindication in a future life which had been the solace of *Job* on his ash-heap outside the camp. We see prepared for man an experience a thousand-fold broader than that arranged by the collectors of the *Proverbs*. The quest for the *Summum Bonum* in which *Qoheleth* was hurled back bruised and bleeding after vain exploration of the paths offered by Wisdom and Pleasure, Affairs and Riches, and the Golden Mean, attained in a way no redactionist had been able to forecast. We see the revelation of a doctrine as to the future such as no Platonist could impart to the *Wisdom of Solomon*. We see the attainment of a 'righteousness' beyond anything that Jesus the son of Sira could embody in his '*Church Book*.' We see, moreover, even beyond the wisdom gained by James, the brother of

Jesus, as, without yet attaining complete understanding through faith, he hung upon the teaching of the *Sermon on the Mount*.

But there is another side to our subject which we must not neglect. Jesus is not merely the Prophet; He is also the *Word*. He is not merely the Priest; He is also the *Sacrifice*. So He is not merely the Sage; He is also Himself the *Wisdom*.

In a very real sense the Person of Christ is a more miraculous revelation of Divine Wisdom than the Teaching of Jesus. The Teaching, as given us through the Gospels, must be expanded continuously through the inclusion of the 'many things' which in the days of His flesh Jesus could not utter if He were to be in any measure understood. Unless we take the teaching of Jesus as a seed corn continually to be resown and reharvested for the use of successive generations, we are likely to find some substratum of truth in Professor Harry Barnes' contention that he knows men in New York to-day wiser in matters of this life than was Jesus Christ. But the teaching of Christ is saved from being static, the wisdom of a single age, because it flows continuously from inexhaustible springs in the being of God. Thus Christ must be conceived of as the *Hokmah* if we would understand the permanence of His claim to be humanity's *Hakam*.

The personification or hypostasis of Wisdom is something towards which both Jew and Gentile yearned, but from the complete expression of which they shrank. One has only to read such chapters as *Job* xxviii, *Proverbs* viii, *Wisdom* vii and viii, and *Ecclesiasticus* xxiv to see how nearly the feet of the Hebrew sages came to finding the path towards the doctrine of the Incarnation. Consider such passages as the following:

"Wisdom is more moving than any motion: she passeth and goeth through all things by reason of her pureness. For she is the breath of the power of God, and a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty: therefore can no defiled thing fall into her. For she is the brightness of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of His goodness. And, being but one, she can do all things: and, remaining in herself, she maketh all things new: and in all ages entering into holy souls she maketh them friends of God and prophets. For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom. For she is more beautiful than the sun and above all the order of the stars: being compared with the light she is found before it." (*Wis.* vii: 24-29.)

"I came out of the mouth of the Most High and covered the earth as a cloud. I dwelt in high places and my throne is in a cloudy pillar. I alone compassed the circuit of heaven and walked in the bottom of the deep. In the waves of the sea, and in all the earth, and in every people and nation I got a possession. . . . Come unto me, all ye that be desirous of me, and fill yourselves with my fruits. For my memorial is sweeter than honey and mine inheritance than the honeycomb. They that eat me shall yet be hungry and they that drink me shall yet be thirsty. He that obeyeth me shall never be confounded and they that work by me shall not do amiss." (*Eccles. xxiv: 3-6, 19-22.*)

How easily might Philo, under different circumstances, and less afraid of the polytheism of Egypt, have found the *Logos* the way to the Christ, the realised *Hokmah* of which so many of his fellow-countrymen had dreamed!

The Greek, too, desired to find Wisdom in the shape of something better than a metaphysical subtlety. Yet the gap between absolutes and realities seemed too vast to be bridged by any incarnation of the divine purpose which could enter his philosophy. That purpose—as even from the days of Babylonian zikkurat worship the religiously disposed had concluded—could only be revealed gradually in the form of æons, emanations, avatars, and what not. Human wisdom, beyond the sad and disillusioning experiences of past generations, had little light upon its path such as could be traced to communication with God.

Yet it is of the heart of the Christian message that Jew and Gentile alike might find the gap closed by the Incarnation of the Son of God. To all alike He could confidently be proclaimed as the revelation of "the fullness of Him that filleth all in all." St. Paul was willing to stake the entire value of his witness to Christ upon the assertion that Christ is one "in Whom are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden." How that wisdom and knowledge were gradually to emerge upon the consciousness of a waiting world the apostle could not anticipate. It was, however, his sublime conviction that Christ would "greatly suffice" for all that "the weary schoolmen" had sought in vain. So he threw down the challenge with assurance and the history of an unfolding Christianity has vindicated his confidence.

Wisdom has, in the Christian era, retained its old Hebrew char-

acter as ethical rather than as speculative. Christ has not explained God. But He has, nevertheless, revealed God as light upon the road of life for all the sons of men. It is to such an ethical Wisdom rather than to any metaphysical abstraction that the Incarnate Christ corresponds—

"The Word of God had breath and wrought  
With human hands the creed of creeds,  
In loveliness of perfect deeds  
More strong than all poetic thought."

So practical a conclusion requires one more word along the same line. Christ is not merely the end of one evolution but the starting point of a second. If He is the fullness of a revelation to which we have become organically related, then we through Him may be made partakers of "every kind of wisdom." It is the apostle's prayer "that ye may be filled with the full knowledge of His will in all spiritual wisdom and understanding."

It is a long journey to this from the documents of the Old Testament *Hokmah* and still further from the rather platinous wisdom of a Pthah-hotep or a Kegemne. But the path is continuous and continuously upward for those who follow the light as "sons of the light" until they become "light in the Lord." Along that path the guidance of the world's Virgils soon reaches its furthest limit. But there is always a Beatrice—symbol of the Divine Wisdom—at hand to strengthen the wavering feet. Entering more and more

"into the ray  
Of the High Light which of Itself is true,"

we shall gain illumination such as shall inevitably, in God's good time, conform our present faulty experience to the Wisdom of God as revealed in Jesus Christ our Lord.

## HAVE I A SOUL?

By WALTER OVID KINSOLVING, Calvary Church, Summit, New Jersey

"The modern man is unable any longer to think of himself as a single personality approaching an everlasting judgment," writes Mr. Walter Lippmann in his *Preface to Morals*. He "has really ceased to believe that there is an immortal essence presiding like a king over his appetites. The word 'soul' has become a figure of speech, which he uses loosely, sometimes to mean his tenderer aspirations, sometimes to mean the whole collection of his impulses, sometimes, when he is in a hurry, to mean nothing at all."<sup>1</sup>

"Belief in a soul existing in a material universe, but separable from it, brings us very soon into conflict with physical science," declares Dr. J. S. Haldane in his recent Gifford Lectures, *The Sciences and Philosophy*. "From its very nature physical science can attach no meaning to the existence of a soul or to its immortality, and if we seek for physical evidence of the soul's existence we can never find it. The history of so-called spiritualism is, and can be, nothing but the record of illusion, and I shall not waste time by discussing it. Not even during life can physical science present any evidence of the existence of a soul."<sup>2</sup>

Although these views are expressed by a Humanist and by an Idealist, they would be wholly acceptable to a Materialist. Indeed, Dr. Haldane says that he is "perfectly at one with the most thorough-going materialists" in his objections to "the theory that an immaterial soul is present in a material body." Yet as an exponent of philosophical Idealism, he denies that souls exist. "Personality," he tells us, "is not something confined and complete in itself separately from an environment in space and time, but extends over that environment," and "for either philosophy or religion individual personalities are unreal, the only real per-

<sup>1</sup> Walter Lippmann, *Preface to Morals*, pp. 113, 114

<sup>2</sup> J. S. Haldane, *The Sciences and Philosophy*, English edit., pp. 298-299.

sonality being that of God." "It is only in so far as God is manifested in us that we partake of reality." "Belief in the existence of individual souls implies a questioning of the omnipresence and omnipotence of God."<sup>3</sup> Other distinguished representatives of this school of thought, substituting the Absolute for God, have made similar statements. "In the complete gift and dissipation of his personality" in the Absolute, said F. H. Bradley, the individual "as such, must vanish."<sup>4</sup> "While we serve as units, to speak the language of appearance," wrote Bernard Bosanquet, "the Absolute lives in us a little, and for a little time; when its life demands our existence no longer, we yet blend with it as the pervading features or characters which we were needed for a passing moment to emphasize, and in which our reality enriches the universe."<sup>5</sup> The same attitude toward individual Selfhood is found also in the literature of Hinduism and of Buddhism and in the writings of the mystics.

This denial of the soul does not dismay the idealist philosopher, the devotee of oriental religions, or the mystic, for they are satisfied with being temporary manifestations of Reality and with merging their individualities and personalities with the Whole, whatever name they may give it. But it seems to make for pessimism in the minds of many men. After Mr. Bertrand Russell has asserted that "no fire, no heroism, no intensity of thought and feeling, can preserve an individual life beyond the grave; that all the labours of the ages, all the devotion, all the inspiration, all the noonday brightness of human genius, are destined to extinction in the vast death of the solar system, and that the whole temple of Man's achievement must inevitably be buried beneath the debris of a universe in ruins," he tells us that we must build upon this "firm foundation of unyielding despair."<sup>6</sup> When Mr. Elmer Davis has maintained that "for the human race, as for the individual, the only visible end is that hopeless cinder heap which the Modernists try so hard to get around," he bids us do "the

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 303, 295, 304.

<sup>4</sup> F. H. Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*, p. 419.

<sup>5</sup> *Life and Finite Individuality: two symposia*, p. 102.

<sup>6</sup> Bertrand Russell, *Mysticism and Logic*, "A Free Man's Worship."

best we can regardless." Mr. Lippmann's "religion of the spirit," which "is perfectly neutral about the constitution of the universe, in that it has no expectation that the universe will justify naive desire," seems to be essentially a Stoicism which accepts what is and whatever happens and makes the most of it. These men are voicing the heroic wistfulness or the wistful heroism of multitudes who, whether they have a God or not, are reasonably certain that they have no souls, and that there is therefore no spiritual destiny for themselves and for mankind.

Must we accept this denial that there is a unitary self or soul in each of us? When I think of my own mind and brain, I am inclined either to agree with the materialistic psychologists or to take refuge in religion or philosophy as ways of escape from brute facts. If anyone were able to replace my skull with glass he would see, through the fluid which envelopes it, my cerebrum—a mass of wrinkled gray matter filling the space above my ears, and divided by a deep longitudinal fissure into two hemispheres. About two-thirds of the surface or cortex would be concealed in this fissure and in the other fissures and indentations which mark off the folds or convolutions and the lobes of each hemisphere. This cortical surface, which varies from two to four millimetres in thickness, is made up of more than 9,200,000,000 nerve cells or neurons. Though they cover so wide an area and are so numerous, these neurons might be condensed into a cubic inch of living matter or protoplasm. Each of them is made up of a cell body, a mass of dendrites or fibrils which radiate from the cell body like a tree top, nourishing it and conveying impulses to it, and also an axone or fibre which extends into the white matter beneath the cortex and carries impulses away from the cell body into lateral and terminal branches at measurable distances away. There is an abundance of evidence that my mental activities and whatever self or soul may be in me are intimately associated with billions of these cortical cell bodies and their interlacing dendrites. Some of these mental activities are definitely localized in areas of my cortex—though they may be transferred to other areas by training if their habitat be injured or destroyed.

Innumerable receptor cells, scattered over and within my body, or assembled in specialized sense-organs such as the eye and the ear, are affected by external or internal stimuli. Their activity is transmitted to adjacent afferent neurons. These convey excitations through my spinal nerves into my spinal cord, where they are relayed to my sympathetic or autonomic nerves and to my brain. Or excitations may pass through some of my cranial nerves into the basal masses beneath my cerebrum and may be relayed by these to my brain. As these afferent impressions are received in the sensory areas of my cortex, they affect the association areas, which then arouse activities in the motor area. These motor impulses are conveyed by efferent neurons through some of the cranial nerves, through the sympathetic nerves, and (or) through the spinal cord and spinal nerves to my muscles and glands, the effectors. The circuit made by afferent, associative, and efferent neurons is commonly called the reflex arc, and may be regarded as the functional unit of my behavior. The neural connections are made within this arc wherever axone terminations meet masses of dendrites. These numberless points of contact, which are really minute surfaces of separation, are termed synapses. Among the important functions of these synapses are the integration, the association, and the coördination of neurons. My mental activities and whatever self or soul may be in me are associated with the complex connections within the neural arc.

Although the differentiated cells and the neurons and nerves which make up so much of my body exhibit characteristics which are distinctive of living things or organisms, they may be described in physical and chemical terms. "The rapid passage of waves of chemical decomposition (probably oxidative in nature and involving some structural change) over the surface of the reacting element, followed immediately by a reverse change which restores the original or resting condition, is what appears to take place in a nerve . . . during conduction," writes Lillie. "Associated with the chemical process is a local electrical circuit by whose electrolytic action the chemical change is apparently de-

terminated." <sup>7</sup> These transformations of energy are reducible to molecular, atomic, and electronic events. When we measure the amount of energy received and expended by the whole body, we find that the transformations of it involved in the operations of the nervous system including the brain neither increase nor diminish it. My body and its material surroundings seem to form "a closed energetic system from the point of view of the Conservation of Energy." My mental activities and whatever self or soul may be in me are associated with this system, yet never add a measurable increment of energy to it.

That my mental activities are dependent upon physical events in my brain and in the rest of my body is evident enough to me when I am overcome by sleep or by an anæsthetic, and when I feel the effects of an illness. Psychologists and psychiatrists, physiologists and physicians have demonstrated this dependence by many facts which are beyond the range of the average man's knowledge and experience, from the "parallelism of mental and cerebral development" in the animal and in man through the phenomena of cerebral metabolism to the disturbances caused by injuries, lesions, disorders, and diseases of the brain. Comparatively recent studies in the action of the endocrine or ductless glands and of the hormones which they secrete into the blood stream have shown that these organs exercise a marked influence on personality and character. When the pituitary, the thyroid, the suprarenal, and the reproductive glands function normally they do much to establish and to maintain the balance of the mind and the temperament of every individual. Excess and deficiency in their activity are registered in decided modifications in mental life, whether in overdeveloped aggressiveness, masculinity, or emotionalism, or in moral weakness and delinquency, or in the more serious defects of cretinism and infantilism. Dr. E. E. Slosson has listed "the hormone theory of temperament" among the ideas which "will influence the philosophy, theology, religion, and morals of the future as much as the

<sup>7</sup> Quoted by J. B. Watson, *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*, 2nd edit., p. 138.

Copernican theory influenced those of the sixteenth century and the Darwinian theory, of the nineteenth."<sup>8</sup> Be that as it may, whatever self or soul may be in me is apparently at the mercy of the many physical factors and forces which may affect my brain.

Some psychologists, impressed by their studies in physiology and neurology, would describe me wholly in terms of the physical changes within my body and my overt behavior. There are Near Behaviorists, according to Dr. McDougall's classification,<sup>9</sup> who recognize conscious activity, though they regard it as merely a system of mechanically determined responses to sensory stimuli, entirely physical. There are Purposive Behaviorists who acknowledge "the objectively observable fact that behavior is obviously a goal-seeking process," but who explain it in terms of conditioned reflexes and conditioned responses. Then there are the Strict Behaviorists who discard consciousness and purposiveness altogether. "'States of consciousness' . . . are not objectively verifiable," writes Dr. John B. Watson, "and for that reason can never become data for science." Thinking, he maintains, is the implicit manual, verbal, and visceral activity of the whole body, though most frequently it is merely "talking with concealed musculature." A student of Dr. Hocking's once defined an Idea as "an incipient laryngeal articulation supplemented by certain subtle visceral reverberations."

As a method of scientific study, which restricts itself to certain principles and to certain classes of facts, Behaviorism is extremely valuable. But when it asserts that mental events are merely physical events, and that consciousness may be disregarded as a factor in behavior, it is open to criticism. For it then refuses to recognize mental factors of whose existence and efficacy we are immediately aware in our own experience, and which we may infer with some degree of assurance in certain types of behavior. It seems to leave out facts as well as factors which must be reckoned with in a full explanation of the mind.

Some men who recognize the importance of physiology and

<sup>8</sup> E. E. Slosson, *Sermons of a Chemist*, p. 39.

<sup>9</sup> *Psychologies of 1925*, Clark Univ. Press, 3d edit., pp. 278-279.

physics maintain that mental activities emerge from certain arrangements of matter. Their view is founded upon the tendency of atoms to form molecules, which, in turn, combine to make more complex substances and structures. In these complex wholes, characteristics which were apparently lacking in every component emerge, as properties which characterize neither hydrogen nor oxygen emerge from them when they form water. So, it is said, from the electro-chemical components of protoplasm emerge the characteristics of life. More complex arrangements of protoplasmic matter give rise to sentience. And the complexes which we find in man's nervous system and brain give rise to the higher factors of mentality. "If the peculiarities of volitional action are not to be discovered in the chemical elements that make up the substance in which it occurs," writes a Harvard scientist, "they must be ascribed to the organization of this substance. . . . From this standpoint certain chemical elements organized as nervous protoplasm have a greater degree of freedom in their action than when the same elements are organized in the form of lifeless molecules."<sup>10</sup>

This account of the emergent evolution of mind appeals to many men because it acknowledges that mind has the attributes which we find in it yet traces their development by successive steps from inorganic matter. It is difficult for some to accept, however, because the matter with which the physicists and the chemists are familiar gives no evidence of a capacity to arrange itself in configurations, however complex, which are sentient, conscious and self-conscious, cognitive, conative, rational, reflective, and able to aim at self-selected ends, except in organisms to which this capacity has been transmitted. Investigators who tell us about "the colloidal arrangement of molecules in a physical substratum, the formation of formaldehyde, polymerisation with production of hexose, ionisation and adsorption, the office of photocatalysts, nitrite and nitrate formation, the salient feature of metabolic balance, the establishment of physiological gradients,"<sup>11</sup> fail to reveal real vitality, much less mentality, in

<sup>10</sup> *Evolution of Man*, Yale Univ. Press, 1923, p. 100.

<sup>11</sup> C. Lloyd Morgan, *Life, Mind, and Spirit*, English edit., p. 79.

these physical phenomena. Nor do those who describe the physical world in terms of modern Physics, who resolve matter into systems of events, and transform "mechanical mass into electrical mass," and give us a world of electrical energy and organized tensions and "mathematical event-formulae," make this emergent doctrine more acceptable.<sup>12</sup> For energy is not made one whit more vital or psychic by these physical concepts, as Eddington and Haldane and other thoughtful scientists realize. Until we find more evidence that life and mind emerge from matter to which they have not been transmitted, we may regard this type of Materialism as a convenient and comfortable refuge-hut beneath the peaks of Truth.

There are men who would elevate mind to a level with matter as an irreducible aspect of reality. They would say, with L. T. Hobhouse, that Mind pervades reality as "an element coeval with the rest (of its elements) and an essential condition of their existence," or with Lloyd Morgan that "there are no physical systems of integral status that are not also psychical systems," as "all systems of events are, in their degree, psychophysical." Dr. Morton Prince, C. A. Strong, A. S. Eddington, and Durant Drake are contemporary thinkers who regard all reality as psycho-physical. Dr. Drake's approach to this panpsychic view is interesting. "In one corner of the world, *viz.*, in my brain," he writes, "I have a private access to reality. Although I can not introspect my mental states adequately, I can get by introspection a considerable amount of knowledge concerning this elusive cerebral life of mine. An outside perceiver, if he had proper instruments, could study these events in detail. But he would be learning only of their pattern, not of their substance. This spatio-temporal pattern he would call the neural processes in my cerebrum. But he would have no means of discovering the psychic character of the processes, which is their own inner, private nature, or substance." "Only, I submit, as we admit the existence of *inner* events (*i.e.*, states of the organism), whose characters are, in a sense to be later explained,

<sup>12</sup> See W. E. Hocking's *The Self, Its Body and Freedom*, pp. 23 ff.

projected into *outer* existents, can we explain our attribution to those outer objects, in a moment of perception, of the sensible qualities that each of us seems to perceive in them. The particular inner events that play this part in conscious experience I call *mental states*. The bodily organ that has these states, or events, is the *mind*. The abstract nature of these states, that gives the sentient character to conscious experience, I call *psychic*." He asks whether, "if this particular corner of the physical world is made of psychic stuff arranged in a physical pattern, may not the whole world be made of similar stuff?"<sup>13</sup> He gives several reasons for answering in the affirmative.

Men who would give a dualistic account of reality find Panpsychism attractive. But the assumptions which it involves seem to be founded on faith rather than on fact. As Dr. Broad writes, "there is plainly no direct empirical evidence for the view that everything which is material is in fact also mental," or even sentient; and "if we accept it at all, we must accept it as a hypothesis which goes beyond and appears to conflict with the observable facts."<sup>14</sup>

We may accept a psycho-physical view of mind, however, without committing ourselves to a panpsychic view of nature. Through introspection of myself I find mental states and experiences. Through observation of me, with the aid of vivisection and various instruments, someone else would find physico-chemical events in the neurons of my cerebrum and central nervous system, and without this surgery and laboratory examination would see much of my bodily behavior. These different views reveal a mental aspect and a physical aspect of the same series of events. We may acknowledge these aspects without speculating about the essential nature of either and without trying to determine their relation to the whole universe. We may regard them as aspects of all living organisms. Many psychologists deal with man as an organism and with mind as a live thing. We may study psychical and mental phenomena—innate mental disposi-

<sup>13</sup> Durant Drake, *Mind and Its Place in Nature*, pp. 91 and 68.

<sup>14</sup> C. D. Broad, *The Mind and Its Place in Nature*, English edit., pp. 644 f.

tions, including reflexes, tendencies, and instincts, and acquired mental processes, which range from conditioned reflexes and habits to reflective thought and sustained purpose,—and we may interest ourselves in the integration and association of these mental dispositions and processes into the major instinct-complexes and the other complexes and systems and constellations of systems which make up character and personality. We may investigate also the neural activities upon which these are based and by which they are activated, from the functioning of the reflex arc to the formation of engrams, neurograms, configurations, and patterns in the brain.

This psycho-physical account makes mind appear "as a complex of interrelated simultaneous and successive mental events," in the words of Dr. Broad, or as a "composite of a lot of little minds, each concerned with its own business and its own interest and aim," if one prefers Dr. Morton Prince's description.<sup>15</sup> Normally, Dr. Prince goes on to say, these little minds "behave harmoniously as dynamic elements of one large system. Some emerge into consciousness, some remain submerged in the subconscious storehouse of the mind to be called upon when wanted as systematized memories; while many, still remaining subconscious, become stimulated into active processes and act upon and modify the processes of conscious thought and behavior." When they conflict, one or more of them may be repressed, and may take on "independent or so-called automatic activity" of a subconscious sort. They may even be induced "by technical methods of experimentation" to "function subconsciously and independently." A study of "the dissociated and more or less segregated processes occurring in certain abnormal conditions, such as hysteria and dissociated personalities; in artificially produced conditions, such as suggested post-hypnotic acts; and in normal states, like intense concentration of the attention and absentmindedness; and in that no-man's land of dreams, automatic writing, etc.," leads this distinguished authority to conclude that these states or processes have consciousness of their own—co-consciousness—

<sup>15</sup> *Psychologies of 1925*, Chapters X and XI, esp. pp. 228 ff., 264.

which involves sentience, sensation, perception, and emotional tone, and which determines "intelligent purposive adaptive behavior. . . . As Dr. Whitehead expresses it, "there are centres of reaction and control which cannot be identified with the centre of experience."<sup>16</sup> That mental dispositions, states, complexes, and systems, whatever names we may give them, act more or less as units, with varying degrees of independence, is widely acknowledged. That these activities are conditioned by correlated neural processes, many of which carry inherited tendencies, some of which are formed by internal and external factors, and all of which supply the energy which is expended, is generally admitted.

These mental components are normally associated in experiences in which I seem to myself to be feeling, thinking, acting. What unifies them? One may give the answer which Dr. C. D. Broad, in an able discussion of "The Unity of the Mind" in *The Mind and Its Place in Nature*,<sup>17</sup> tells us that he is "slightly inclined to prefer"—that "the unity of a total mental state consists in the fact that a number of contemporary mental states, each with its own characteristic qualities, are directly interrelated in certain characteristic ways," that the "something which can be called 'I' is the whole complex of interrelated mental states which are said to be 'mine,'" and that this "I" is merely "a Fact about certain mental states and their interrelations, and so its mode of being is subsistence and not existence." A similar account of the "Unity of Consciousness" has been given by Dr. Drake in his *Mind and Its Place in Nature*<sup>18</sup> "in terms of physiological psychology." "The synoptic power of consciousness," he writes, "both spatial and temporal, is the result of the functional unity of a co-ordinated sensori-motor process"—the process "that is controlling the organism at each moment." "We react as to a single object, or scene, or event. The singleness is created by the act. The compresence of elements in a complex datum results from the fact that the organism is attending to

<sup>16</sup> A. N. Whitehead, *Process and Reality*, p. 165.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, Chapter XIII.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, Chapter XVI.

just so many details in one simultaneous set of motor responses." "The unity of consciousness is thus based upon a functional unity of the attentive process." "The unity, isolation, and simplicity of our data are not existential facts, either physical or psychical." Dr. A. N. Whitehead's explanation of the unity of the mind is essentially the same, in meaning if not in terminology. "The living body," he writes, "is a co-ordination of high-grade actual occasions; but in a living body of a low type the occasions are much nearer to a democracy. In a living body of a high type there are grades of occasions so coordinated by their paths of inheritance through the body that a peculiar richness of inheritance is enjoyed by various occasions in some parts of the body. Finally, the brain is coordinated so that a peculiar richness of inheritance is enjoyed now by this and now by that part; and thus there is produced the presiding personality at that moment in the body. Owing to the delicate organization of the body, there is a returned influence, an inheritance of character derived from the presiding occasion and modifying the subsequent occasions through the rest of the body." "Each actuality is essentially bipolar, physical and mental, and the physical inheritance is essentially accompanied by a conceptual reaction partly conformed to, and partly introductory of, a relevant novel contrast, but always introducing emphasis, valuation, and purpose. The integration of the physical and mental side into a unity of experience is a self-formation which is a process of concrescence, and which by the principle of objective immortality characterizes the creativity which transcends it. So though mentality is non-spatial, mentality is always a reaction from, and integration with, physical experience which is spatial."<sup>19</sup>

These statements are representative of views which appeal to many because they seem to explain the integration and the fusion of mental states, as well as the dissociation, independence, and conflict which are found so frequently. There are intelligent men, however, who cannot understand why any "complex of inter-related mental states" is aware of itself as an "I," a subject, an

<sup>19</sup> *Process and Reality*, pp. 166, 165.

experiencer, why mere consciousness is ever self-conscious, and why, in Dr. Broad's words, "a pure unity of system should appear to be a unity of center."

One may answer the question, What unifies the components of mental activity? in another way, by saying that there is a Self or Soul in each of us which associates mental states and activities in a unified experience. Dr. Whitehead dismisses this solution of the problem by saying that "it is obvious that we must not demand another mentality presiding over these other actualities (a kind of Uncle Sam, over and above all the U. S. citizens)." <sup>20</sup> Dr. Drake declares that "no Soul or Vital Principle or Entelechy or Ego, no entity 'behind' the introspectable events of our mental life, has ever been discovered," and that "the belief in such an entity is either purely *a priori*, or traditional, or it rests upon the supposed discovery that the Self acts in ways not describable in terms of natural law and thus requires the postulate of a non-natural factor to account for its behavior." <sup>21</sup> Others say that "the idea of the pure ego transcends the facts, and that it is a superfluity with which psychology can dispense." But despite these and other objections, there are men of no mean ability who agree with Dr. Tennant that this idea "yields an unforced explanation and an adequate systematization of the facts." <sup>22</sup> The unifying action of a self in mental states and functions appears in the coördination of the instincts, the recognition of sensations and perceptions, the translation of memory traces into "time-distance," the transformation of conditioned reflexes and habits and emotions by meanings and motives, the organizing of memory systems, knowledge systems, and rational thought systems, and the embodiment of values in character and personality and life. The creative capacity of many men and women in dealing with the materials which are at their disposal might be called in as a witness to the presence of a self coöperating with their abilities. These and other evidences are well presented in W. E. Hocking's *The Self: Its Body and Free-*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>21</sup> *Mind and Its Place in Nature*, p. 225.

<sup>22</sup> F. R. Tennant, *The Soul and Its Faculties*, English edit., p. 79.

dom, in F. R. Tennant's recent work, *The Soul and Its Faculties*, in William McDougall's *Body and Mind*, and in Dr. Broad's book referred to above. We must acknowledge that this activity of the self is always conditioned by the psycho-physical states of our minds and by our bodies. But we may venture to assert that this associative factor, when it is operative, has no physical correlate.

We may ask also, What directs these mental states in our experience into apparently voluntary and purposive behavior? One may answer with Dr. Drake<sup>23</sup> that "the mind is a complex of forces, one state of its being causing the next, causing events in other parts of the body, and indirectly in the outer world." We may agree with him that volition is "the process by which a series of mental states characterized by predominant ideational-anticipatory elements evoke, through the efferent nerves, bodily movement." A purpose may be "a 'set' of the organism, a tendency towards a certain sort and amount of motor expression, which persists through varying circumstances until that motor expression has been accomplished." And decision may be "the overcoming of contrary motor tendencies, so that a result hitherto blocked can now be attained." Such descriptions satisfy many men because they seem to account for the most variable factors in man's mind in terms of sensori-motor activities. But they fail to explain to others the normal mind's consciousness of a measure of freedom in determining and in carrying out many, if not most, of its volitions, decisions, and aims.

One may answer this question in another way—by saying that there is a Self or Soul in each of us which directs these mental states. We find ourselves in our ability to direct our own minds and bodies and lives, voluntarily, deliberately, and purposefully towards selected aims and ends. We should not assume this ability in ourselves without examining the evidence for it. We must draw very delicate distinctions between the aspects of mental and bodily activity which may be attributed to us as agents and those aspects which are attributable to independent mental

<sup>23</sup> *Mind and Its Place in Nature*, pp. 229 ff.

and physical factors. And we must recognize that we neither add to nor subtract from the energy in our bodies and in the world, even when sustained attention and persistent effort leave us physically depleted. If we act upon our cerebral neurons at all, according to Dr. Broad, we merely determine that at given moments "so much energy shall change from the chemical form to the form of bodily movement," by lowering the resistance of certain synapses and raising that of others, so that "the nervous current follows such a course as to produce the particular movement which the mind judges to be appropriate at the time."<sup>24</sup> Dr. McDougall describes the same process as an organizing by conscious attention, volition, and effort of plastic nerve tissue into functional systems. The mental activity, he suggests, may merely change the direction of the motion of the particles of brain matter without altering their rate, and thus without producing any change in the quantity of kinetic energy.<sup>25</sup> "It may be held," writes Dr. Drake, "that mind merely causes potential energy to be transformed into kinetic energy, or vice versa, or merely causes the energy to switch from this channel to that, without altering the sum-total of energy in the system."<sup>26</sup> Dr. Lloyd Morgan maintains that mental events, such as intrinsic enjoyment and cognitive and reflective reference, are concomitant with physiological changes, though they do not cause or in any way influence these physical events. He argues, however, that mental reference which is prospective—which foresees the physical effects of actions—is accompanied by physiological processes which check responses which will be unwelcome and augment responses which will be desired. "Though there is mental, and perhaps conscious, guidance under reference," he writes, "the direction of action in the behavior observed is the outcome of concomitant physical influence."<sup>27</sup> Whatever explanation we may give of the self-direction and guidance which we experience and which we infer in one another, it is evidently conditioned by our

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 109, 113.

<sup>25</sup> William McDougall, *Body and Mind*, English edit., pp. 211 ff.

<sup>26</sup> *Mind and Its Place in Nature*, p. 88.

<sup>27</sup> *Journal of Philosophical Studies*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 170.

brains and our bodies. Yet we may venture to assert that this directive factor, when it is operative, has no physical correlate. Telepathy, which is accepted by men of no mean ability, may be an unusual exercise of it. Students of Psychical Research might attribute other supernormal phenomena to it.

What is this Self or Soul which exercises these associative and directive functions in our minds and lives? One might answer in the words of William McDougall that it is a psychic being "that possesses, or is, the sum of definite capacities for psychical activity and psycho-physical interaction, of which the most fundamental are (1) the capacity of producing, in response to certain physical stimuli (the sensory processes of the brain), the whole range of sensation qualities in their whole range of intensities; (2) the capacity of responding to certain sensation-complexes with the production of meanings, as, for example, spatial meanings; (3) the capacity of responding to these sensations and these meanings with feeling and conation or effort . . .; (4) the capacity of reacting upon the brain processes to modify their course in a way which we cannot clearly define. . . ." <sup>28</sup> Or we might say with F. R. Tennant that the Soul is an individual continuant "to whose immanent causation or activity, evoked in *rapport* with objects, is to be referred the connexion between passing states, constituting them one *bios*," and whose "knowable essence" is the capacity of "feeling, along with the faculties of attending to, and complicating, impressions, etc., deriving ideas, selectively fashioning concepts and performing all the synthetic activities involved in the complexity of mental life." <sup>29</sup> Or we may agree with C. D. Broad that there is a Psychic Factor which, "like some chemical element which has never been isolated," is compounded with every mind, which may have sentience or feeling, and which carries with it traces of mental experiences. <sup>30</sup> Or we may be satisfied with A. N. Whitehead's acknowledgment that mentality is "partly the single directive agency of the body, partly a system of cogitations which have a certain irrelevance to the physical re-

<sup>28</sup> *Body and Mind*, English edit., p. 365.

<sup>29</sup> *The Soul and Its Faculties*, pp. 100, 96.

<sup>30</sup> *The Mind and Its Place in Nature*, English edit., pp. 535 ff., 651 f.

lationships of the body"; that there are presiding personalities in our bodies, that a presiding personality (or "occasional") "is the final node, or intersection, of a complex structure of many enduring objects" which pervades the body as an organism, and that the "route of presiding occasions probably wanders from part to part of the brain, dissociated from the physical material atoms."<sup>31</sup> Or we may adopt the view of Dr. Pringle-Pattison, that a man's self is "the coherent mind and character which is the result of the discipline of time, not some substantial unit or identical subject present in his body all along"—a "spiritual self, created through the bodily medium," which "attains individuality and independence in an ultimate sense," and which "must be capable of surviving the dissolution of the material frame through which it was brought into being."<sup>32</sup>

These men have little to tell us about the intrinsic nature of soul. They decline to speculate about things-in-themselves, about substance and essence and attributes and qualities, and think in dynamic terms. Yet a merely dynamic view of soul as the unifying and directing factor in our personalities may lift us out of the wistfulness and pessimism of our day, and may give us new visions of our capabilities and of our destiny. We may realize that we have souls by associating our mental dispositions and states, our inherited and accumulated mental assets, into many-sided but single-minded personalities and characters, and by directing our mental and physical activities towards worthy aims and ends. We may exercise our creative capacities by coördinating and synthesizing the materials which are at our disposal into more ideal physical, mental, moral, social, æsthetic, and spiritual forms. And as we demonstrate our abilities to unify and to direct our mental states and our behavior, and to mould our environment, we may dare to believe that they will function through new media, even if we wonder what these media will be, when these minds and these bodies have been laid aside.

<sup>31</sup> *Process and Reality*, pp. 164-167.

<sup>32</sup> *The Idea of Immortality*, English edit., 1922, p. 105. See also a paper on "The Grounds of the Christian Hope in a Future Life" by Professor Hodgson in the *Bulletin of the General Theological Seminary*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (May, 1931).

## THE INFLUENCE OF CHIASMUS UPON THE STRUCTURE OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MATTHEW

By N. W. LUND, North Park College, Chicago

In a previous issue of this journal<sup>1</sup> the present writer has presented a number of passages from the gospels, which show that the principle of chiasmus has influenced their structure. These passages include not only sayings of Jesus but also narratives of his doings. Some of these passages are of such nature that the theory of unconscious rhythm and symmetry in their production must be abandoned for that of a conscious aesthetic interest. It is not conceivable that a passage like Luke 4: 16-20 in which the central quotation obtains its chiastic perfection only by four departures from the Septuagint text should have been the result of mere chance. Nor is it likely that a passage like Matt. 13: 13-18 in which the chiastic pattern is begun before the quotation from Isaiah is given and continued after the close of the quotation, thus making the quotation and its application a solid literary unit, could have originated in any other way than by a deliberate planning of the writer. Likewise the lengthy passage in Matt. 6: 24-34 is too intricate, not only in the order of its ideas, but also in the euphony of its endings (*cf. DD'*), to have originated as the result of any unconscious artfulness of the writer. An unconscious art of writing there might be, but in that case we are dealing with the unconsciousness of perfect mastery, that careless ease which is the result of literary patterns thoroughly assimilated and a technique perfectly mastered. In other words, these passages represent samples of the highest literary achievement. They are not the product of the unconscious groping of the community spirit such as results in the folklore of the nations. The literary patterns which have

<sup>1</sup> "The Influence of Chiasmus upon the Structure of the Gospels," January 1931.

served as models for the writers of these New Testament passages are to be found in the Old Testament. Is it not conceivable that the practical interest which prompted the early church to produce these forms might also be a similar one to that which gave rise to such forms in the Old Testament?

The consensus of scholarly opinion is in favor of regarding the writings of the Old Testament as liturgical. Not only the psalms and the prophets but also the historical books of the Old Testament bear the stamp of the liturgical purpose for which they were written. No one can read the Book of Kings without being conscious of the recurring liturgical refrains characterizing the kings of Israel and Judah. Their story is told to illustrate a principle of history and to enforce a moral lesson. The writer, as if conscious of a possible demand on him from the reader for more detailed historical information, frequently refers to the historical sources from which he draws the material for his liturgical lessons. Is it therefore to be considered strange, that the early church, in which the Old Testament was read and venerated, when it was confronted with the task of creating its own writings, should have looked to the writings it already possessed for guidance both as to the devotional purpose to be served by these writings and as to the literary forms in which they were to be cast? There is nothing in our present knowledge of apostolic times which prevents us from assuming a liturgical interest in the early church. The picture presented in Acts and in the Pauline epistles is that of an orderly community in which formal worship was at least an ideal, however imperfectly the ideal might have been realized. Whether we approach the Christian community through the established order of the temple and synagogue or through the pagan worship in the religion of the state and the numerous cults, we obtain antecedents which are all in favor of formality in worship. There is only one valid objection against the assumption of a liturgical interest on the part of the apostolic church, namely, that the evidence for it is scanty. It must be admitted that a few snatches of Christian hymns injected in one or two of the epistles of Paul is a slender thread on which to

suspend such a weighty theory. Even if such evidence may be used to establish the presence here and there of a liturgical interest in the apostolic church, it will be inadequate to prove a universal interest in a formal worship. If, however, it may be shown that one or several of the writings of the New Testament bear a liturgical stamp, we would have just the kind of evidence that is needed to establish the case. The present writer is convinced that both in the epistles of Paul and in the gospels he has discovered evidence of such literary formality which may justly be ascribed to a liturgical interest, and that the patterns of this literary art are to be found in the liturgical writings of the Jewish community.

The examples given in the article already referred to are not sufficient to establish the liturgical purpose of the Gospel according to Matthew. They do indicate, however, the presence of such a formal style of writing in the gospel as seems inconsistent with the idea that these units are merely the results of the unconscious striving to satisfy the practical needs of the Christian community. When we direct our attention from the smaller units composing the gospel to the various parts and to the total structure, we discover several features which are clearly liturgical in their purpose. The principles of suspense, of climax, of numerical<sup>2</sup> arrangement in groups of three, five, seven, etc. and of clusters in which a topical order prevails are all important factors. These features of the gospel have all been more or less clearly discerned by commentators. To these factors one more should be added, namely, *the chiastic order of the groups of sayings and doings of Jesus*. Not only are words and lines arranged in chiastic patterns, and not even brief sections with their corresponding sections mark the full extent of the chiastic order, but all the longer parts of the gospel, and even the whole gospel from beginning to end seems to permit of a chiastic arrangement. It is in the observance of this kind of literary structure that the liturgical form reveals itself, more than in any other feature of the gospel. The following General Outline indicates roughly how the present writer conceives the structure of the gospel. The outline is based on a detailed analysis of all the parts.

<sup>2</sup> *Introd. to the Lit. of the N. T.*, Moffat, page 257.

## GENERAL OUTLINE OF THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW

1:1-17.

A. Jesus is the Son of Abraham and Son of David. Yet there is a hint of a wider significance of his person. In his ancestry are found some disreputable persons (vv. 3, 5; cf. 21:31) and foreigners (v. 5).

18-2:23.

B. Jesus' coming and "his star" (sign). Though he came to save "his people," and the Jewish civil and religious rulers are interested in his person there is also an early indication of his mission to the Gentiles (v. 11). There is also an early hint of martyrdom for Jesus' sake (2:16-18).

3:1-17.

C. The Jewish nation and its relation to the "beloved Son" (v. 17). Through the preaching of John the nation is put on probation. It is not enough to be sons of Abraham, for God can out of stones raise up sons for himself (v. 9). "The ax lieth at the root of the trees," a mightier baptizer is coming, who will thoroughly separate men (10-11). Though conforming to customs and laws he is "the Son of God" (13-17).

4:1-11.

D. Three challenges in the form of temptations: *Is Jesus the Son of God?* Jesus is challenged to make bread for himself, to avoid the way of suffering to glory by accepting the kingdoms of the world from Satan (Luke's order), and to win the acclaim of the curious by casting himself from the pinnacle of the temple. Against Satan's challenges stand only the refusals of Jesus. The answer to Satan's questions is implied but not expressed.

4:12-11:6.

E. Sayings and Doings of Jesus. The sayings are found chiefly in the Sermon on the Mount. By the "doings" is meant, not only significant actions of Jesus which prove him to be either the Son of God or the Son of David, or in some other way describe him, but also brief utterances arising out of these actions and connected with them, whether they are uttered by Jesus, his disciples, or others.

11:7-14:12.

E'. Doings and Sayings of Jesus. The "doings" in this section, as in the former relate mostly to the Pharisees as representatives of the old religious order, or to John and his followers, or to healings, which, together with the utterances they give rise to, authenticate Jesus as the Son of God or Son of David. The sayings relate chiefly to the parables of the kingdom (ch. 13).

14:13-20:28.

*D'.* Three great affirmations by means of groups of passages, which in their order and nature match the three temptations. Satan's three challenges are answered: Jesus is the Son of God. Jesus makes the bread for others that he refused to make for himself (14:13-15:39). Jesus explains the mystery of suffering to Peter, who unwittingly acts the part of Satan in trying to dissuade Jesus from the way of the cross (16:1-17:21). Jesus expounds to his disciples that they are to commend themselves to men by a forgiving disposition, by moderation, by humility and by charity (rather than by ostentation, *cf.* pinnacle temptation), and that whatsoever they sacrifice for him of the kingdoms of this world they shall be rewarded for in the new order of things which is soon to be revealed (17:22-20:28).

20:29-23:39.

*C'.* The Jewish nation and its leaders, and their relation to him, who is not only David's Son but also *his Lord*. The "fig tree" has had its three years of probation and "the ax" will cut it down. "Others" will be called. The leaders are "offspring of vipers" (*cf.* 23:33 with 3:7). John's baptism is viewed in relation to the work of "one greater" (21:23-32).

24:1-25:46.

*B'.* Jesus' coming and his "sign." The faithful will know of his coming, while to the others it will be a surprise. Before his coming the Gentiles will have heard the gospel and his faithful ones will have endured much suffering for his sake.

26:1-28:20. *A'.* Jesus is shown in various ways to be the king of Israel (27:37, et al.) but also Son of God (28:18) and his significance is shown to extend to "all nations" which are hereafter to be made disciples.

Clarity and unity would be given to the argument, were we at liberty to proceed from the beginning and present the evidence in detail upon which this outline is based. The limitations of space forbid such a presentation, however, nor is it necessary in order to illustrate the nature of the evidence and the method of procedure. We shall therefore select one or two of the larger parts in this scheme for a detailed analysis and from the results the reader will judge for himself the merits of the case.

Before entering upon a discussion of these details, however, it will be necessary to call attention to certain *ruling ideas* of the

gospel. By ruling ideas we mean, not merely ideas that are important in themselves, but only such ideas which the writer of the gospel has designated in a special way by giving them a certain prominent position in the literary structure. Now, in a chiastic structure the turning point is in the centre. It is not uncommon to have ideas placed both in the centre and in the two extreme parts of a structure, when they are to be particularly emphasized. Emphasis may also be obtained by placing such ideas in a parallel position in the units which make up a group. The ordinary types found in the simple parallelisms of the psalms, namely, synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic are found. Among these ruling ideas we may observe the following: 1. John the Baptist, his person and work and its relation to Jesus. 2. The leaders of the Jews, both political and religious, and their attitude toward Jesus. 3. The titles of Jesus, both his Messianic titles and those describing him as the Son of God, two titles usually occurring together, one in each of two parallel units in a structure. 4. The fulfilment of prophecy, which is made prominent, usually by placing references to prophecy in the central position in a chiastic structure.<sup>3</sup> 5. The air of secrecy with which Jesus surrounds himself. 6. The presentation of a critical group of men who stand aloof and reject Jesus. 7. The presentation of a loyal and receptive group among whom Jesus is accepted and his teachings obeyed. That all these things have been of interest to the writer of the gospel has in all ages been recognized more or less by commentators, but the observance of the chiastic patterns in the gospel will show, that all these ruling ideas have been strikingly emphasized by placing them in parallel positions.

Since there will be in the reader's mind a number of questions as to what kind of literary relationship between the synoptic gospels and their sources is postulated in the following analysis, it may be well to make this point clear at the outset. The following statement of this relationship may be made, *at least tentatively*. 1. Such passages in the gospels in which chiastic forms

<sup>3</sup> Quotations in the centre of a structure is also a feature of the Pauline epistles, *The Journal of Religion*, Jan. 1930, p. 87 ff.

prevail are to be traced back to an Aramaic speaking community. This hypothesis seems necessary in view of the fact that these forms must originally have been derived from the Old Testament,<sup>4</sup> and probably never would have made much progress except among people of Semitic origin and training. 2. The chiastic form is effective as a mnemonic device, thus facilitating the preservation and transmission of a great mass of material even through an oral tradition. The precedent for this method would be found in the Old Testament. Many of the Levitical laws were in these forms and they were probably memorized and orally transmitted long before they were reduced to writing. 3. Matthew, the apostle of Jesus, wrote down much of this material in an Aramaic document which was in every sense a gospel. This is the *Logia* mentioned by Papias.<sup>5</sup> There is no difficulty in applying Papias' term *Logia* to both the doings and sayings of Jesus. The doings were preaching anecdotes, and, if not in content, at least in their function, one with the sayings. Many of these stories also have in them a kernel-saying which sets forth the point of the story. 4. The Aramaic Matthew was used by both our Luke and our Greek Matthew, either in the original or in a Greek translation. If the literary dependency of Luke on our Greek Matthew can be made out with certainty, there is no need of postulating a Greek translation of the Aramaic Matthew previous to our Greek Matthew, since all the phenomena in the Greek text, which have been supposed to require a common Greek source, will then be explained by literary dependency. If, on the other hand, such a literary dependency cannot be made out with certainty, it will be necessary to postulate an earlier Greek translation of the Aramaic Matthew. 5. Our Greek Matthew followed closely for *order* and *content* the Aramaic Matthew.<sup>6</sup> 6. Our

<sup>4</sup> "The Presence of Chiasmus in the Old Testament," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages*, page 104, Jan. 1930.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Zahn's remarks on Papias' passage: *Introd. to the N. T.*, Vol. II, pp. 509 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Substantially the view of B. Weiss as summarized by Zahn in his *Introduction to the N. T.*, Vol. II, page 417; cf. B. Weiss, *Einleitung*<sup>3</sup>, 1897, pp. 453-560, though Weiss excludes the passion history, which, nevertheless, shows a chiastic arrangement as the rest of the gospel.

Greek Matthew, however, in order to keep within the limits of a convenient size, or within the limits of a standard scroll, was compelled to reduce considerably the wealth of material found in the Aramaic Matthew. This was done by two methods: condensation and elimination. The *doings* of Jesus were strictly condensed, as a reference to almost any narrative common to Mark and Matthew will show (*cf.* the Gadarene demoniac). The *sayings*, on the other hand, were given fully, but when a reduction in volume becomes necessary, elimination rather than condensation is the method employed. Whenever we are having a perfect chiastic structure we are tracing a faithful reproduction in Greek of an Aramaic original, and when the chiastic structure breaks down, as it often does in Luke, we have a departure from it. This is shown in a comparison of the Sermon on the Mount with Luke's version. 7. Mark also follows the Aramaic Matthew, but reverses the method of our Greek Matthew. The *doings* of Jesus he gives with a wealth of detail, which has gained for Mark the reputation for vividness. This popular quality in Mark, however, may be but the vividness of his Aramaic source. The *sayings* of Jesus he practically eliminates, though passing references indicate that he is acquainted with these discourses. Augustine has called Mark "a lackey and abridger of Matthew" (*pedisequus et breviator*), a dictum which modern scholarship universally rejects. Mark is compared with our *Greek* Matthew and instead of representing an abbreviation he is found to contain a fuller narrative. His vividness and wealth of detail cannot be reconciled with his being an abbreviation. It is to be noticed, however, that Augustine is speaking of a *Hebrew* Matthew.<sup>7</sup> What he says, therefore, should be dealt with on the basis of the gospel he speaks of, and not on the basis of our Greek Matthew, which he does not refer to in the passage under consideration. If we by Matthew understand the Aramaic (Hebrew) document mentioned by Papias, and by "breviator" understand one who abbreviates by *elimination* rather than by condensation, there is

<sup>7</sup> "Only Matthew is reckoned to have written in the Hebrew language; the others in Greek," *Harmony of the Gospels*, Bk. I, chap. 2:4.

no valid reason why Augustine's dictum should not apply to our Mark. Whether one accepts or not his views as to the existence of a Hebrew, or Aramaic, Matthew, one should at least do him the justice of applying his reference to the Matthæan tradition to the gospel he speaks of and not to our Greek Matthew, which is not in his mind in the passage. 8. Because of Mark's fuller version of the doings of Jesus, we may, in favorable instances, recover from him valuable details, which the chiastic structure in our Greek Matthew seems to require for its completion, but which in some instances have been lost accidentally in the process of condensation. 9. The dependency of our Greek Matthew upon Mark for his order, which is commonly assumed by modern scholars, need not be denied, for Mark may well have been the older and our Greek Matthew may have used him. Yet, their similarity in sequence may also be accounted for by assuming a mutual dependency on the Aramaic Matthew.

This is not the place to discuss in detail the hypothesis of an Aramaic Matthew, which is merely tentative, and stated only because of the necessity of adopting some definite method in the treatment of the following material. To what extent the hypothesis is justified will appear, as it is tested in the following exposition. Again, there is nothing new in the hypothesis, except that it will be argued on the basis of the chiastic structure, which, as far as the present writer knows, has never been done before. The principle of chiasmus is to be used as a new tool in gospel criticism.

In this exposition the fullest use is to be made of that result which the followers of *formgeschichte* have made permanent in gospel criticism, namely, that the stories are *paradigmata*, illustrative anecdotes, whose chief function is, not to impart various items of historical information concerning Jesus and his disciples, but to bring out lessons of value in Christian instruction. The various points covered in the instruction with which the gospel is concerned are, at least in part, enumerated among the *ruling ideas* of the gospel. While it is certain that much of this material was used by early preachers, and that its present form largely may be accounted for through this peculiar use, as our form-

critics justly maintain, this observation appears to the present writer to describe only one half of the process. For when the point was reached, when the teaching material came to be incorporated in a document for public use in the assembly, all the circumstances which may be conceived as operating in the shaping of the separate units would again be at work upon the shaping of the whole document. There would be an increasing need of economy in words, in order to make the document as inclusive as possible. The "point" in the story would need to be sharpened, since no verbal explanation or gesture would accompany the reading of it, as in ordinary preaching. If the nature of the gospel as a liturgical document be once laid hold of and seriously considered, the factors which *formgeschichte* usually brings out in connection with the *function* of the story in missionary preaching would—and more properly so, it would seem—be brought into a closer relation to the final shaping of the material. The picture obtained would only become more definite. Instead of the unconscious groping of the spirit of the community, shaping its material through oral use and through several generations, we would have a definite literary art brought to bear on a definite practical problem at a definite occasion. With the chiastic models of the Old Testament given, and the practical need of *written* instruction for the Christian assembly felt, the occasion for the creation of our gospel must also soon have arisen. When form-criticism turns its attention from a consideration of the separate units and the conditions under which they arose—conditions which are very largely beyond the recovery of historical science—and devotes itself to a thorough investigation of the Old Testament influences upon the form of our gospels, then we will have *form-criticism* proper and something that resembles a method. While no one can be more appreciative than the present writer of the factors put into clear perspective by the followers of *formgeschichte*, he still maintains that the literary study of the gospels hardly can be regarded as completed, while the influence of chiasmus upon their structure never to his knowledge has been investigated.

We are now ready to take up in detail the analysis of the first of the two central parts of the gospel, namely, Part E (4:

12-11:6), and the general arrangement of this part, as the present writer conceives it, may be indicated in the following outline, in which the points of comparison in the parallel sections are briefly noted.

PART E: *The Sayings and Doings of Jesus*

4:12. Jesus heard of John's arrest (*cf.* 4:12-24 with 9:35-11:6).  
 13-17. The territory and the message: Israel, the kingdom of heaven.  
 18-22. Four disciples chosen.  
 23-24. General summary: Jesus' work consists of teaching, preaching, healing. His cures include disease, sickness, demons.

\* \* \*

*The Sayings of Jesus*

4:25-5:2      Introduction to the sayings: Multitudes follow and are taught.  
 5:3-7:27      The Sermon on the Mount.  
 7:28-8:1      Conclusion to the sayings: Multitudes astonished at his teaching and follow him. *Cf.* "great," 4:25 and 8:1.  
 8:2-17.      A central summary: Compare the *threefold* statement with those of the general summaries (4:23-24 and 9:35-10:1).  
                  Variety of diseases: leprosy, palsy, fever.  
                  Variety of places: mountain (v. 2), city (v. 5), home (v. 14).  
                  Variety of method: touch and word (vv. 3-4), word without touch (v. 13), touch without word (v. 15).  
                  Jesus heals all sorts of diseases in all sorts of places and by all sorts of methods.

*The Doings of Jesus*

8:19-22      A believing scribe and another disciple.  
 18, 23-27      The tempest: marvelled, "What manner of man?"  
 28-34      Two possessed men: cried, "Son of God" (publicity avoided, *cf.* Mk. 5:19, 20).  
 9:1-8      A palsied man: the faith of others; "Son, be of good cheer;" blasphemy.  
 9:13      Pharisees: a disciple of Jesus: eating; a proverb.  
 14-17      Pharisees: John's disciples: fasting; a proverb; two illustrations.  
 18-26      Jairus' daughter (the faith of another, Mk. 5:36); "Daughter, be of good cheer;" ridicule.  
 27-31      Two blind men: cried, "Son of David"; publicity avoided.  
 32-33      The dumb man: marvelled, "It was never so seen in Israel."  
 34      Unbelieving Pharisees (MSS. D a k, omit v. 34), *cf.* dislocation in v. 18.

\* \* \*

9:35-10:1. General summary: Jesus' work consists of teaching, preaching, healing. His cures include disease, sickness, demons (10:1).

10:2-4. The twelve disciples.

5-7. The territory (vv. 5, 6) and the message (v. 7): Israel; the kingdom of heaven. The missionary address (10:8-11:1) deals with the *method*.

11:2-6. John in prison heard of Jesus' work (*cf.* 9:35-11:6 with 4:12-24 above).

This part of the gospel consists of a series of four frame-passages,<sup>8</sup> as it were, which are matched at the other end by a similar series in the *inverted* order (*cf.* 4:12-24 with 9:35-11:6). These passages deal with Jesus and John the Baptist; the territory to which the earlier activities of the preachers of the gospel were to be confined and their message; the disciples of Jesus; and they wind up with a general summary of Jesus' work. The summaries have the appearance of a stereotyped formula with a triple statement of the activities of Jesus and of the ailments he cured. The "demons" are not included in the formal enumeration of the ailments in 9:35, as they are in 4:23-24, but among the instructions to the twelve in 10:1 "unclean spirits" are also included. The "disciples" addressed in 9:37, as well as those alluded to in the preceding chapters, can under Matthew's arrangement of his material only refer to the four disciples whose call is described in the corresponding section (4:18-22). The statement that "the laborers are few" (9:37) should be read with the *four* of 4:18-22 in mind. There is, of course, no problem raised from the point of view of parallelism by the placing of the Twelve against the four. The next parallel section deals with the territory and the message. The emphasis is on Israel, yet with a reference to the Gentiles (4:15), and a description of the message. The only problem is created by the missionary address. The address is a literary unity in which the sections are constructed after the samples given from the Sermon on the Mount in the previous article and grouped so as to correspond to each

<sup>8</sup> Zahn has some observations on 4:23 and 9:35, which, he admits, "at first sight looks like a *sort of frame*" (!), *Introduction to N. T.*, Vol. II, page 545. His conclusions differ from those expressed here.

other from beginning to end. The extraordinary length of the discourse would not in itself forbid our regarding it as a parallel to the brief section in 4: 13-17, since its general content concerns missionary activity. Yet, one has a feeling when considering this address, as well as the other addresses of Jesus in Matthew, which show a similar formal construction, that they may be material from a special collection of such discourses. Whether the Aramaic Matthew has the narrative material and the discourses also, or the presence of the missionary discourse in 10: 8-11: 1 is the result of a later redaction, cannot now be discussed. The problem can only be considered together with a study and estimate of the structure of *all* the discourses in Matthew and the possibilities they offer. The last of the frame passages deal with Jesus and John the Baptist. To be sure, the first of these references in 4: 12 is very brief, but it deals with John's arrest, and it states that Jesus "heard" of it. This is sufficient to set it off as parallel to 11: 2-6 in which John is described in his arrest and it is stated that John also "heard" of Jesus. There can be no doubt that in Matthew's arrangement of his material the setting of the morning star is coincident with the rising of the sun (4: 12), and that 11: 2-6 is intended to clinch the new order of things by pronouncing a blessing upon those who accept it (11: 6). The message conveyed to the reader of the gospel and his congregation by this arrangement is precisely the same as that given in John 3: 24-30. We shall find in Part E' (11: 7-14: 12) that this part also begins and ends with a reference to John with this difference, that John is made the subject of an address. The presentation is given a touch of finality by the tragic death of John. The prominence given to this particular ruling idea of the gospel is clearly seen as soon as its structural position is observed. The historical reason for this emphasis must be sought in the existence of a sect of followers of John the Baptist and the necessity of explaining to a Christian congregation their position (*cf.* Acts 19: 1-6 with John 1: 8; 1: 15; 5: 33-36, etc.).

We are now to direct our attention to the group of passages entitled "The Doings of Jesus" (8: 18-9: 34). This group of

passages offers a good example both of the chiastic order and of the contention of form-critics, that the stories are told to illustrate a point. We may begin our investigation at the centre and work toward the two ends of the section. In the central position we find two passages of about equal length. In one of them (9: 9-13) a mention is made of a disciple of Jesus, Matthew, and of a dispute with the Pharisees about the subject of eating with publicans and sinners. The reply is given in what seems to be a proverbial expression about the physician and the sick. In the other passage (9: 14-17) the disciples of John give rise to the discourse, but the Pharisees are in the picture, and the subject under consideration is the fast (*cf.* eating above). The answer to their question is once more given in the form of a proverbial expression about the bridegroom and his attendants. The answer here is fuller, for it takes in two brief sayings of Jesus about the new patch on the old garment and the wine-skins (9: 16, 17). These two sayings are interesting both as to content and form, but they will be discussed later. The problem created by them is seen, when we consider that they have no corresponding material in the other passage. When these two sayings are disregarded for the present, we find, that the two passages at the centre end in two kernel-sayings, which have a chiastic form.

"*Mercy I desire,  
and not sacrifice.*"

*For I came not to call the righteous (who sacrifice)  
but sinners (who need mercy).*

The second passage ends with a similar form:

*Can the sons of the bridechamber mourn,  
as long as with them is the bridegroom?*

*But come will the days when shall be taken away from them the bridegroom,  
and then will they fast.*

There is a literary finish to these two conclusions which indicates that the Greek Matthew is here following closely his Aramaic source. Neither Mark nor Luke has preserved the chiastic form of the two conclusions. By omission of the quotation from

Hosea 6: 6, by changing the position of the verb in the sentence (also substituting *νηστεύειν* for *πενθεῖν*, cf. Matt. 9: 15 with Mk. 2: 19; Lk. 5: 34) and by introducing a repetition (Mk. 2: 19b) the symmetry, which is so striking in our Greek Matthew, disappears from Mark's and Luke's versions. The association of mourning with fasting is found also in Matt. 6: 16.

The next pair of passages is made up of the stories of the palsied man (9: 1-8) and of Jairus' daughter (9: 18-26). The method of grouping two stories, quite different in content and historical setting, as parallel, needs no elaborate defense. In this connection it is sufficient to say, that each of these two stories has common points<sup>9</sup> to emphasize in the scheme of the gospel. Their relation to each other is, that they both show that Jesus is able to heal even in extreme cases (9: 5, 18; also v. 20 with Mk. 5: 26); that he is met with hostile reception from some (9: 3, 24) while he is doing good; and that his fame spreads as the result of his wonders (9: 8, 26). To these points, which the two stories have in common, we would like to add another, namely, that Jesus at times heals the sick because of the faith of others. The faith of the four men is distinctly emphasized (9: 2) and, if we may lean on Mark 5: 36, the faith of the father also. Jairus' faith is not mentioned in Matthew's account. It is one of those items which disappear in the rigid condensation to which Matthew subjects his narrative material, but in his Aramaic source, the fulness of which the three times longer account of Mark bears testimony to, we might have recovered the allusion to Jairus' faith. One more point of similarity between the two stories, and the most interesting of them all, is found in the two encouraging statements of Jesus, "Son, be of good cheer" (9: 2) and "Daughter, be of good cheer" (9: 22). None of these statements are found in the parallel accounts of Mark and Luke. That the story of the woman with an issue of blood is found injected into the narrative of the raising of Jairus' daughter is prob-

<sup>9</sup> A modern preacher may, to illustrate a point, tell a story, but the *same* point may be made by stories as divergent in form as the typical Jewish, Irish, or Negro anecdotes which are popular.

ably to be explained on the basis of a desire of the Aramaic writer make the words "be of good cheer" parallel in both sections. They serve the very clear purpose of setting forth the exceeding great kindness of Jesus, even though the needy sought his help at inopportune moments. The fact that these two statements are found *in Matthew only*, indicates an interest in just this point of the story, and that they are found in parallel stories indicates, that the hypothesis we are following is on the right track.

The next pair of passages is composed of the stories of the two possessed men in the land of the Gadarenes (8: 28-34) and of the two blind men (9: 27-31). These two stories are as unlike in content, as they can possibly be, yet they have striking points in common. We have here an instance of one of the ruling ideas of the gospel, the method of placing the titles of Jesus in parallel positions in the structure.<sup>1</sup> The two demoniacs cry out, "Thou Son of God" (8: 29), and the two blind men (9: 27) hail Jesus, "Thou Son of David," both being recognized titles of Jesus and both being brought to our attention in the same striking manner. The two blind men are sternly told by Jesus to keep the miracle secret, but promptly disregard the warning given them (9: 30-31). This point of parallelism disappears in the condensed version of the healing of the demoniacs in Matthew. It may be recovered, however, from the fuller account of Mark 5: 19, 20, in which the refusal of permission to follow Jesus probably is based on a desire to avoid sensationalism (*cf.* Mk. 5: 14, 15). The man is told to confine his activities to his house and friends, but even in his case the warning is disregarded (Mk. 5: 20). The most startling feature, however, lies in the fact that whereas in Mark and Luke the miracle concerns *one* man in either case Matthew has *two*. That these two double miracles should be found in parallel positions in the chiastic group to which they belong is, aside from the minor points of parallelism between them, another confirmation of the correctness of the hypothesis on which our analysis is based. We are led to conclude that the Aramaic Matthew at this point had a double miracle in each case. In the case of the two blind men our guess re-

ceives unexpected corroboration, for in the general summary in 11: 5 we read, "the blind (plural) receive their sight." This item is also found in Lk. 7: 22, "the blind (plural) receive their sight." Since Luke, however, up to this point has made no mention of the healing of several blind, as the plural requires, he introduces an explanation in v. 21. Since he uses the plural in his summary, it seems reasonable to assume, that his source, which was also our Greek Matthew's, contained a report of the healing of *more than one* blind person. The occurrence of the plural "blind" in Luke's summary together with the two double miracles in parallel position in the chiastic structure indicates, that the Aramaic Matthew contained the stories of two demoniacs and two blind men.

The accounts of the tempest and of the dumb man vividly portray the admiration and awe which are the results of a great miracle. In both cases men "marvelled" (8: 27; 9: 33). In one case they say, "What manner of man is this?" and in the other, "It was never so seen in Israel." It should also be observed, that each of these stories is prefaced by a reference to the travels of Jesus (*cf.* 9: 32 with 8: 18, 23; which go together originally).

The last pair in the structure has a clear and definite function to perform in the scheme of the gospel. We have in one instance a friendly scribe, who with another man had been impressed by Jesus (8: 19-22), and in the other, a reference to Pharisees who had not been impressed at all, but on the contrary charged that Jesus was in league with "the prince of the demons" (9: 34). These passages set forth in striking antithesis the different impressions made by Jesus. From the point of view of chiastic order this occurrence of scribes and Pharisees in the *first* and the *last* passage which make up this structure is significant, for we have also in the *centre passages* references to the Pharisees, and, if we once more may lean on Mark, to the scribes also (Mk. 2: 16). This feature of the structure is strictly in conformity to a law of distribution at the extremes and at the centre, which is often found in similar structures elsewhere.

The evidence, then, seems to indicate, that the structure entitled "The Doings of Jesus" is a literary unity *as it now stands* in our Greek Matthew, and that in its present form, though in certain details departing from the Aramaic Matthew, it has, nevertheless, preserved the spirit and fulfilled the purpose of the original source. There is an interesting textual problem connected with 9: 34, which verse, according to Tischendorf, is missing in MSS. D a k. May we from the absence of this verse in these MSS. and from the rather awkward manner in which the parallel passage in 8: 19-22 is introduced between vv. 18 and 23, which are consecutive, conclude, that we are here dealing with a later accretion to the gospel? The story of the scribe and the other disciple is part of a triple story of a similar import, whose third member may be recovered from Lk. 9: 57-62. Did the Aramaic source at the *end* of the structure have another triplet, of which 9: 34 is the only remnant? This would mean that we have passages with *three* persons illustrating the same principle, just as we have passages with *two* persons, as in the case of the demoniacs and the blind men.<sup>10</sup>

With the salient features of the parallel units in the chiastic structure clearly in mind we obtain a clearer view of the function of such a group of passages in the total scheme of the gospel. Such a group has frequently been described as "topical." This description, while useful to show that we are not dealing with a chronological order, is, nevertheless, not sufficient. When we discover the *chiastic* order of this topical group of passages, however, and bring this feature together with the major result of *formgeschichte*—that the stories are told with a purpose to illustrate a point—we obtain the correct perspective. The purpose of these stories has frequently been set forth in regard to detached units, as when they are conceived as being preaching anecdotes, but this seems to be only one half of the whole. The other half is their function as a part of an important liturgy of the early church. In this capacity also the stories in the structure

<sup>10</sup> There are several such instances in which the writer's interest in numbers is seen. Cf. 1: 1-17; 23: 13-33, etc.

we have just analyzed admirably present a picture of Jesus, which could have been made very impressive, as the gospel was read by trained readers who had a clear grasp of what the structures were designed to teach. Approaching the structure, then, with a view of learning what these stories teach about Jesus and the impression he made upon his contemporaries, we find that these points are subtly, yet clearly, developed in a very systematic manner. The questions concerning the person of Jesus are being answered for us in the titles and in some of the sayings to or about him which we find embedded in the stories. The impression Jesus made on men is just as clearly brought out, as the following résumé will show. In the central pair Jesus is criticized; in the next he is accused of blasphemy and he is ridiculed; in the next he is hailed with his proper titles and his fame is spread abroad; in the next they marvel and express their wonder over his power; and in the last pair we have *both attitudes* expressed, the friendly and the unfriendly. These lights and shadows in the total picture of Jesus are deftly introduced, but they are intelligible, once our attention has been focused on them. Some one may object that such features are too subtle to be really effective, should we accept them as being the result of an intentional literary art. If so, it would probably not be the only instance in which the subtleties of artful writing had remained undiscovered and unappreciated. Before dismissing the possibility here suggested, it might be well to raise the question, whether we, who are unfamiliar with these forms, which the Semitic section of the church knew and appreciated as a cultural heritage, are in the position to judge offhand either the effectiveness of this form of writing or the possibility of its being appreciated. As the reading of the gospel would progress in the assembly and the audience would be made aware of the two attitudes toward Jesus, there would also be brought home to all present the practical lesson, that they themselves must make their choice. Especially in the latter parts of the gospel, in the conflict with the rulers and in some of the parables arising from this conflict, is this lesson strongly presented. In these parts of

the gospel especially is the contrast by the literary structure made very marked between those who accept Christ and those who reject him.

Having accounted for all the material contained in the structure, we are left with the two passages in 9: 16, 17 on our hands. The message of those two passages is, that the old and the new order should never be mixed, but that the new life represented by the church should be allowed to create its own forms. The two illustrations of the new patch on the old cloth and the new wine in the old skins teaches in two different forms the same fundamental lesson. They contain a principle rather than a prescription. Not only their content, but their form, is characteristic, and sets them off against the preceding passage in vv. 14, 15, which is finished off with a formal conclusion, as we have seen. So intimately is their chiastic form associated with the Greek order of the sentence, that it may only with difficulty be rendered in English. It would run somewhat as follows:

No one puts a piece of undressed cloth  
upon an old garment;  
for taketh the filling (*i.e.* the patch) of it  
from the garment,  
and worse the rent becomes.

Neither do they put new wine into old wine-skins:  
else burst  
the skins  
and the wine is spilled,  
and the skins  
are destroyed;  
but they pour new wine in new wine-skins,  
and both are preserved.

The problem created by these two passages is, that they have no counterpart in the structure in which they occur in our Greek Matthew. Recalling such a precedent of the chiastic form as furnished by a passage like Lev. 24: 13-23,<sup>11</sup> in which there was a principle, the *lex talionis*, in the centre and a threefold application of it on either side, we may suspect that these two statements of the Christian principle as to the relation of the church and its members to the old religious order in Judaism also once occupied

<sup>11</sup> *The American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Jan. 1930, page 120.

a similar central position. Turning to Mark, we discover, that he has preserved these two passages, and in a *central position* of a structure, which, from the point of view of chiastic form, leaves little to be desired. The nature of this section, which is Mark 2: 13-3: 8, may be shown in the following outline:

- 2: 13. By the seaside: multitudes: teaching.
- 14-17. Scribes and Pharisees: Why eat? etc., a proverb: physician.
- 18-20. Pharisees: John's and Jesus' disciples: Why not fast? etc., proverb, bridegroom.
- 21. The principle: The new patch on the old garment.
- 22. The principle: The new wine in the old skins.
- 23-27. Pharisees: Jesus' disciples: Sabbath; example: David; the priests.
- 3: 1-6. Pharisees and Herodians: Sabbath (example, *cf.* Matt. 12: 11, the sheep).
- 7-8. By the seaside: multitudes: preaching.

We find in this structure, printed as it stands in Mark, the two passages from Matt. 9: 16, 17, where they should be, namely, in a central position. On one side of them are ranged two passages which are found in Matt. 9: 9-15 and, on the other, two passages which are found in Matt. 12: 1-14. These four passages have this in common, that they are all practical illustrations of the battle between the old religious order and the new. They give the reasons why the principle enjoined in the two central passages should be practised. All the four passages are controversial, all involve questions of the Law, all state the problem in the form of a question, all give the answer and support it with an illustrative example (assuming that Matt. 12: 11 represents the original form in the Aramaic source). When our Greek Matthew composed his gospel he drew from a source, whose general features in this group have been preserved in Mark. That the two instances of the sabbath controversy became separated from the two instances of eating with publicans and fasting may easily be accounted for by the plan followed by our Greek Matthew. He had constructed Part E, which began with the sayings and ended with the doings of Jesus. The latter were partly controversial (9: 9-13; 14-17), the former didactic (*cf.* the Sermon on the Mount). The parallel Part E' follows (11: 7-14: 12), begin-

ning with the doings and ending with the sayings of Jesus, that is, with the order of Part E reversed.

*The Doings and Sayings of Jesus*

11:7-15. John the Baptist: prophet, multitude, king's houses, a messenger only.  
 16-24. A critical generation: aloofness, wisdom (v. 19), mighty works (v. 20), Capernaum.  
 25-30. A receptive group: "These things" hidden and revealed; "learn of me."

*The Doings of Jesus*

12:1-8      { Pharisees, the sabbath: grain, David's example, the priests.  
 9-14      { Pharisees, the sabbath: healing, their own example, the sheep.  
 15-21.      *Secrecy urged*: fulfilment of Isaiah 42:1 ff.

22      { A demon: blind and dumb.  
 23-30      { Pharisees and miracles: judgment (v. 27), one stronger (v. 29).  
 31-32      { Sins of speech: blasphemy, world to come.  
 33-35      { An illustration: the tree with good or evil fruit.  
 36-37      { Sins of speech: idle words: day of judgment.  
 38-42      { Pharisees and signs: judgment (vv. 41, 42), one greater (vv. 41, 42).  
 43-45      { A demon and seven other spirits.

46-50.      { A receptive group: "Who is a member of the family of Jesus?"

*The Sayings of Jesus*

13:1-9      { The Sower: a parable.  
 10-18      { Secrecy necessary: fulfilment of Isaiah 6:6-9.  
 19-23      { The Sower: an interpretation.

24-30      { The Tares: a parable: mixture.  
 31-33      { The Mustard Seed: a parable: extensive growth.  
 33      { The Leaven: a parable: intensive growth.  
 34-35      { Secrecy: fulfilment of Psalm 78:2.  
 36-43.      { The Tares: an interpretation: mixture.

44      { The Treasure: a parable.  
 45-46      { The Pearl: a parable.  
 47-50.      { The Dragnet: a parable and an interpretation (v. 49): mixture.

51-52.      { A receptive group: "these things" (v. 51); a disciple of the kingdom (v. 52).

53-58.      { A critical generation: aloofness, wisdom, mighty works (v. 54), "his own country."

14:1-12.      John the Baptist: prophet, multitude, the king's court; John's death.

Limitations of space do not permit a detailed comment on this outline. It will help us, however, to arrive at the solution of the problem, why the two sabbath passages have become separated from the other passages presenting the controversy with the Law. The frame-passages in Part E' are of the same nature as those in Part E, though partly of a different content. Between these frame passages is placed the material to be incorporated in the structure, but, in accordance with the chiastic form, the order is reversed. Whereas in E the order was sayings and doings of Jesus, in E' it is, doings and sayings of Jesus. The strong *controversial* element discovered in the latter part of E is now found in the first part of E', and with increased intensity. The *didactic* material found in the first part of E is placed in the last part of E'. It is the necessity of carrying out this plan, and the need of placing some stories with a controversial color in the first part of E', which explains the separation of the two sabbath stories from the structure in which they stood in the original Aramaic source. Incidentally this procedure sheds light on the assumption so often made by form-critics, that the early church not only modified the material handed over by the tradition, but freely produced such material. Here is an instance in which on literary grounds nothing could have been more appropriate than to take over into E the whole structure as preserved in Mk. 2: 13-3: 8 from the Aramaic source, but this is not done. Controversial stories were needed in E' also, and they are not produced, but taken over from an already complete structure, even if there could be given to them no counterpart as they now stand in E'. In view of this fact we may question the great freedom which the early church is supposed to have felt in *producing* sayings and doings of Jesus according to the exigencies of the hour. The right to modify material they no doubt exercised, when the pedagogic interest required it. Indeed it is difficult to see how any teaching in the real sense of the word may go on without a certain freedom to adapt the material to the purpose one has in mind. Yet it would seem that an example like the one just mentioned indicates, that the freedom felt by the gospel writers in the handling of their

material was considerably restricted. They felt it their duty to transmit what they had received.<sup>12</sup> Every instance in the gospel in which earlier parts are later repeated testifies against this supposed freedom to produce at will new material (*cf.* 5: 29 with 18: 9; 5: 31, 32 with 18: 9). Why should a gospel writer for the instruction of the assembly make it a point to repeat in another connection a saying of Jesus, which he had earlier introduced, if there had been a custom in the Christian community of producing sayings of Jesus, when the situation required them? Such a custom certainly does not of necessity follow, because one recognizes, that the stories or sayings were told with a purpose to bring out a point. A modern preacher often adapts for his sermons biographical and historical material in order to make it as expressive and pointed as possible; but this is quite another thing than to *make up* an anecdote in order to illustrate a truth.<sup>13</sup>

We are now in the position to estimate the meaning of the three events narrated in the centre of Part E, namely, the stories of the leper, the centurion's servant, and of Peter's wife's mother (8: 1-17). The occurrence of these three stories at this point in Matthew is surprising on the basis of any assumption that he is following Mark for his order. Mark has only two of these stories. They come earlier, and their order is reversed (Mk. 1: 29-30 and vv. 40-45). Luke also has the stories of Peter's wife's mother and the leper in the order of Mark, but separated (Lk. 4: 38, 39 and 5: 12-16), to which he later adds that of the centurion's servant (7: 2-10). There are many indications that Luke is depending on Mark for the first two stories, but for the third he must have drawn either from our Greek Matthew or from his Aramaic source. If, as we have consistently held throughout this paper, the Aramaic Matthew showed chiastic arrangements of sections, the gospel which shows these forms to a greater extent would be the one closer to the Aramaic source. And it is not difficult to see why Matthew has the three stories

<sup>12</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 11: 23; 15: 3.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. the argument in *The Gospel before the Gospels*, by B. S. Easton, pp. 88-109.

in the position where he has placed them. The habit of writers who follow chiastic patterns to distribute similar or identical ideas at the centre and toward the ends of a structure may be detected also here. In the frame-sections we find two passages containing general summaries of Jesus' work (*cf.* 4: 23-24 with 9: 35-10: 1). What could be more appropriate than to have a similar summary at the centre, and to make it more emphatic. The emphasis in this case is achieved partly by a threefold recital of *concrete cases* of healing, and partly by a threefold emphasis on the variety of diseases, of methods of healing, and of places in which the healings took place. The whole presentation is rounded off by a quotation from *Isaiah* 53: 4. There are several such instances of quotations in central sections throughout the gospel. It is clear that these three cases of healings must be placed in the position indicated in our outline of Part E, between the sayings and the doings of Jesus. They cannot possibly be grouped with the Sermon on the Mount, and, if there is any cogency to the argument presented above, "The doings of Jesus" (8: 18-9: 34) constitute a well-knit literary unit in which there will be no place found for these three healings.<sup>14</sup> As a climactic summary of the healing activities of Jesus they fit admirably in their present position. This conclusion finds support in the corresponding Part E'. In its frame-sections we have a passage dealing with a receptive group to whom God can reveal his Son, and who take upon themselves his yoke and learn of him (11: 25-30), which is matched by another passage in which the disciples affirm, that they have understood the teachings of Jesus and in which the disciples of the kingdom are described (13: 51-52). In the centre we find an isolated narrative section, placed between the doings and the sayings of Jesus, just as in the case of Part E, and this section has for its function in the scheme of the gospel to answer the question: "Who is a member of the family of Jesus?" The answer is: "He that obeys the will of God." "These things" that are the subject of divine revela-

<sup>14</sup> The writer records with interest the argument of Zahn, who reaches the same conclusion on different grounds. *Introd. to N. T.*, Vol. II, page 544.

tion and human acceptance in the frame-passages are made more concrete and personal in the climactic passage in the centre. The dramatic quality of the narrative increases its emphasis. The limitations of space forbid a detailed analysis of the controversial discourse, but the outline indicates roughly the drift of the passage. The arrangement of the parables shows conformity to chiastic patterns, as is the case also with the Sermon on the Mount.

As this study has progressed the reader has observed how far the results agree with or dissent from the findings of the form-critics. Much of what Dibelius says about the paradigmata has been verified by our analysis of the doings of Jesus. They are brief, they contain an irreducible minimum of detail, they are made to bring out a point, and this point is often found in a saying embedded in the narrative. That these units assumed their present conventionalized form through their function as illustrative material in preaching seems possible, but it must be remembered, that the same practical considerations would operate, and perhaps even more so, in the composition of a liturgical document. With Dibelius' conclusion, that the units assumed their present form because of the needs of the Gentile mission, Bultmann disagrees. If such a thoroughly Semitic form as the extensive application of the principle of chiasmus to the gospel is to be regarded of any account in the determination of its origin, the balance of probability favors an Aramaic rather than a Gentile community. When we arrive at the Greek stage of gospel transmission we naturally ask, Why should a Greek gospel also contain these structures? The answer is, that much of the source material, whether written or oral, was in this form. The writers themselves, if they were Jews and cherished their literary and cultural heritage, must have found these forms congenial. Even in a large Gentile church, like that of Antioch, in which from the beginning and for a long time after there must have existed a strong Jewish group, we would have had people who would recognize and appreciate writings, which were modelled after the Old Testament patterns, though written in Greek. A most potent factor in the literary development along these lines

was Paul, whose epistles contain some of the finest specimens of chiastic forms in the New Testament. Even the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Book of Revelation are constructed after these literary models. With such illustrious literary precedents it is not at all surprising that the Gospel according to Matthew, even in its Greek form, should follow similar patterns.

Mark was probably designed to be a manual for itinerant preachers or for the introduction of the main facts about Jesus to new converts. Matthew, on the other hand, shows every sign of being written for public reading in the Christian assembly. This holds good whether we think of our Greek gospel or of its Aramaic source. A writing in which the several parts are carefully balanced, in which the narratives are stripped of all non-essential matters and made to converge in a given point, in which literary patterns are wrought out with great care, in which the ruling ideas of the times are emphasized by their position in the literary structure, and in which an intricate artistry is displayed in the shaping of minor details, both in the order of the ideas and in the euphony of words, must have served another purpose than mere individual instruction and edification. If we add to all these features the principle of dramatic suspense, which is skilfully maintained throughout the gospel, the conclusion seems plausible, that we have before us an early Christian liturgical<sup>15</sup> document. The conditions under which the early church lived are not adverse to such an hypothesis. The Jewish Christian had been introduced to formality in worship in the temple, and, to some extent, also in the Synagogue. The Gentile Christian, whether of Greek or Roman extraction, had received his training under the strict formality of the official state religion. Even those who were devotees of the various mystery cults were, as recent discoveries clearly indicate, well acquainted with a rich cultus in which the formal liturgy received support from the arts in order to produce aesthetic effects. Under such general con-

<sup>15</sup> "Liturgical," but *not* "a poem"! Cf. *The Gospel before the Gospels*, by B. S. Easton, page 74, note, where Loisy's view is criticized.

ditions it seems safe to assume, that the demands for a formal worship soon must have been heard in the early church.

The practical need of a book which could be read in the public assembly for edification and instruction must have been felt at a still earlier date, probably from the beginning, while the church was still in Palestine. Nor need we assume that such a need could be felt and steps taken to satisfy it only in a very large and influential group of Christians. When books were written by hand, and not printed, one book would be an edition, and we should not assume the necessity of a large circle of readers to absorb the output of the publisher. About the year 50 A.D. Paul mentions the existence of Christians "in Judæa in Christ Jesus" (1 Thess. 3: 14). That they were even at this early date organized in local congregations seems certain, for he speaks of "the *churches* of Judæa which were in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 1: 22). These passages, not to mention the accounts given in the Book of Acts, indicate that an organized Christian movement existed in Palestine long before the date of our Greek gospels. Is it likely that these Christians, who had all their lives heard the Scriptures read in their Jewish assemblies, should have felt no need to have their distinctive Christian teachings conveyed to them in a similar fashion? In such communities a gospel like the Aramaic Matthew, which according to Papias was written for Jews "in the Hebrew dialect,"<sup>16</sup> would meet the need of a specific Christian literature, and when the Gentile mission created a demand for Greek gospels, it would be the rich quarry out of which materials might be procured. When we are assuming such needs and such methods to satisfy them, we are not introducing anything strange, for the precedents lay close to hand in the contemporary organization of the temple and the synagogue. The conditions we are assuming are not inconsistent with any information we possess of the life in Palestine during the first century. Into such a picture a gospel with the content and form similar to Matthew in its Aramaic original would fit quite naturally, and in a church constituted like that of Antioch our Greek Matthew

<sup>16</sup> Eusebius, H. E., III, 39; V, 10; and Irenaeus, Haer., III, 1: 1.

could easily have been written to meet its local needs. Whether we accept or reject these conjectures as to the place of origin, whether we accept or reject the hypothesis of an Aramaic Matthew as the basis of the Greek gospel, the facts remain, that we have before us in the Greek gospel certain structures which have not as yet been studied. What such studies will ultimately lead to is as yet uncertain, but so far the evidence seems to point back to the Aramaic Christian community.

## PROFESSOR KIRK'S BAMPTON LECTURES

By WILLIAM L. WOOD, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge

*The Vision of God. The Christian Doctrine of the Summum Bonum.* By K. E. Kirk. Longmans, Green and Co., 1931, pp. xxviii + 583. \$10.00.

One of the most significant movements in present day theology is that which is leading us away from the dangers and errors of an anthropomorphic theology and ethics. It is a movement shared in by Protestants and Catholics alike. For in this attempt to point out that it is God and not man who is the object of one's faith, and his glory rather than our own glorification the end of our endeavors, theologians as far apart as Karl Barth and von Hügel are united. In this endeavor to show that our love of man is not the exact equivalent of our love of God, and that our experience of God is not to be measured by our sensations, Neo-Calvinists and Anglo-Catholics are agreed. They are agreed in this also, that man can never be satisfied with a this-worldly goal—that no earthly Utopia would ever satisfy him, but only a life which is eternal.

The Rev. K. E. Kirk, himself an Anglo-Catholic (he is already well known through his two books on Moral Theology), has made a most valuable contribution to the literature of this movement in his Bampton Lectures on *The Vision of God*.

He shows from their writings that until the Reformation period the vision of God had been the deepest desire and the highest good of apostles, theologians and saints. He shows how large a role the search for it played in shaping such institutions as monasticism, and such practices as that of penance. With less success he endeavors to find the reasons for the far smaller role which the desire for that vision has played within the last few centuries, and does play to-day. And he concludes by telling us how essential for the finest type of Christian life the quest for that vision is.

It is, then, the central theme of this book that it is the vision of God and not the source of man which is the *summum bonum*; and that because so many Christians to-day have lost sight of this truth, the Church is in danger of becoming a society of humanitarians, without adventuresomeness and without moral vigor, who, having lost the power to worship God and the longing to know him, have with it lost the power and insight genuinely to love their fellowmen.

As Dr. Kirk points out, the first theologian to make use of this phrase which has played so decisive a part in Christian life and Christian ethics was Irenæus. "The glory of God is a living man; and the life of man is the vision of God." But the belief that the pure in heart shall see God goes back to our Lord himself. Indeed to know God as the Truth, to behold Him in his beauty, to contemplate Him in his goodness and in his love, to be at one with Him, to experience Him, to see Him in beatific vision —this has been the goal of all the saints of all the ages. Nor has the search for the vision been confined to Christians alone. It has been the goal of all mystics, Hebrew prophets and seers as well as of neo-Platonists and the devotees of the mystery cults. And while many have sought for it wrongly through magic practices, in states of trance and ecstasy, or along the negative path of complete renunciation of the world and the complete renunciation of desire, yet there have been those non-Christians who have known that the true vision is only given to the righteous and pure in heart. Thus we find Philo saying, "Go up, O soul, to the vision of Him who is—go up, quietly, reasonably, willingly, fearlessly, lovingly. For these are the spear-bearing powers of the mind that is worthy to reign." And these words of Seneca are almost a paraphrase of the gospel promise "The Mind unless it is pure and holy cannot apprehend God."

Nor has the idea of what the vision of God is, and how it is to be attained, varied only among those outside of the Christian church, but within it as well. And so, as Kirk says, "the simple words of the beatitudes have in their day called men into the desert, have drawn men into the cloister, have made them saints

and solitaries, martyrs and missionaries. They have bred errors and schisms past man's power to number; they have beckoned to the forbidden labyrinths of magic and astrology; they have been held with the bands of orthodoxy, only to break their chains and witness again to the freedom of the gospel. They have torn men from the study of philosophy and the love of family and friends; again they have sent them to school with Aristotle and Plato and have taught them to look for God in the sanctities of the Christian home. Under their influence some have learnt to hate the beauties of nature and of life, while others have been inspired to embrace those beauties perhaps too rashly." Indeed "The history of the phrase is the history of Christian ethics itself."

The story of the quest for the vision of God in the Christian Church, as Kirk gives it, is a most fascinating one. It leads us along the most diverse thoroughfares and by-ways of Christian experience. It leads us to the New Testament to find there the part played by the vision of God in the thought and experience of Jesus and St. Paul and St. John. It leads us to a study of the growth of legalism in the post-Apostolic Church, and of the part played by the vision of God in rescuing the Church from that legalism. It leads us to the history of the monastic movement, and shows us how great a part the search for the vision of God played in the growth of ascetic practices within the Church, as well as in the protests which from time to time were made against their excesses. It leads us to a better understanding of the development of the discipline which the Church has exercised upon her members, and helps us to understand that the fear of the loss of the vision of God was at the root of the sternness and over-severity with which the Church at times treated its sinful members. It brings us to a study of the part played by the sacrament of penance in mitigating the severity of the Church's corporate discipline, and in preparing the laity for the reception of the vision; and it shows us how the vision itself was freed from pagan accretions by the practice of meditation upon the life of Jesus and upon the cross—first introduced into the Church by Bernard of Clairvaux, developed to its highest by

Ignatius Loyola and François de Sales. And it leads us to the influence exerted by the thought of such great theologians as Augustine, Thomas Aquinas and the Victorines both upon the methods used to gain the vision, and the knowledge of its nature.

The reader of this book, then, cannot help but be impressed by the tremendous part which the search for the vision of God, and the belief that that vision has been vouchsafed, has played in the history of the Church. But he may still question whether the vision is the chief end of man. For the phrase "the vision of God" suggests a first hand experience of God and that of a mystic kind. And the question will naturally come to his mind: are all men capable of a mystical experience, and even if they are capable of it, have they time to attend to their every day business and go through the arduous course of discipline which the attainment of the mystical experience demands?

These questions are quite natural, for it is true that if the vigors and discipline and vows of the monk are necessary to the attainment of that vision (as many of the saints undoubtedly believed); or if the steps of the mystic way, purgation, illumination and union, are necessary to it, then this vision of God cannot be the chief end of men, but only an end of the spiritual élite. Unless we are to believe that we are all called to forsake the every day life and work of the world; unless we are all called to break all family ties, then the vision of God, at least in this world, is not the *summum bonum* of the ordinary wayfaring Christian.

But the phrase, the vision of God, as Kirk uses it, has a meaning much wider in scope than that usually given to the beatific vision which is the goal of the mystic, even wider than that of the phrase "religious experience," since it designates not only every experience of God of which we are conscious, but also the worshipful attitude of the man whose heart goes out to God. The vision of God, says Kirk, is "that unbroken personal intercourse with the divine which is the end for which man was made." Of this vision a foretaste is possible even in this life. It is a corporate experience, given to the Christian fellowship and to us as members of it. As a present experience of the fellowship, St.

Paul is speaking of it when he says, "We all with unveiled face beholding as in a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit." And it is to the vision again that he refers when he says, "It is God that said, 'Light shall shine out of darkness,' who shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." To see God reflected in the life of Jesus, to see his light shine through the life of Jesus, that is to have a vision of God. Indeed as Kirk says, "Wher- ever a man's mind has been uplifted, his temptations thwarted, his sorrow comforted, his resolutions strengthened, his aberrations controlled, by the sight of purity, innocence, love or beauty,— indeed, wherever he has even for a moment recognized and responded to the distinction between good and evil, between better and worse,—such a man has had in part the mystical experience. Dim though his mirror may have been he has yet seen God." All men, then, have some foretaste of the vision of God.

As Basil once said, "If ever a kind of light piercing thy heart has brought thee unawares the thought of God, and so illumined thy soul as to make thee love Him . . . that dim and fleeting vision can make thee comprehend the state of the blessed who enjoy with God a beatitude without end."

Thus the vision of God or at least a glimpse of that vision is given to all men who respond to the love of God as it comes to them through the various experiences of life, and above all through the life of Jesus. And as Kirk also points out, the perfect vision of God in the life of the world to come is possible for all. The life of the monk, however much time he may spend in contemplation and prayer, is not higher in kind than the life of the good layman, nor does it lead to a higher beatitude. Though some in this life come nearer to perfection than others, there is no one road to perfection. And conversely since all are called to the perfect life, we can never do more than is required of us, and gain as it were a bonus from God. When Hermas said, "If thou do any good thing beyond the commands of God, thou shalt gain for thyself a more abundant glory, and be more honored by God than otherwise," he was wrong.

Therefore, while some progress further in this life than others, yet all have before them the beatific vision and will not be satisfied till they attain it. The same goal is before all, and also the same kind of renunciation of all that hinders us from reaching that goal. And this truth many of the Church Fathers, as Clement of Alexandria, Gregory the Great, Basil, recognized. Thus Basil says, "God has permitted man to live in one of two ways, either as married or as monks. But it must not be supposed that those who are married are free to embrace the world. The evangelical renunciation is their ideal too, for the Lord's words were spoken to those who were in the world as well as to the apostles: "What I say unto you I say unto all. . . ." Indeed Kirk believes that Gregory the Great was right in holding that certainly in this life no one is called to the *purely* contemplative life. "We cannot," said Gregory, "stay long in contemplation. . . . We can only glance at eternity through a mirror, by stealth and in passing; . . . we have to return to the active life, and occupy ourselves with good works. But good works help us to rise to contemplation, and to receive nourishment of love from the vision of Truth—then, once more moving back to the life of service, we feed on the memory of the sweetness of God, strengthened by good deeds without and by holy memories within."

These words of Gregory go far toward answering another objection which is often made to this idea that the *summum bonum* is the vision of God, namely that the quest for the vision of God is purely selfish. It is selfish, or becomes so for those who have a wrong conception of the nature of God. The God sought by many of the mystics, Kirk tells us, has been "the unnatural God," the altogether-other God, the God "who can only be described by negatives." Thus Dionysius the Areopagite counseled his friend Timothy in mystic contemplation "to leave the senses and the activities of the intellect, and all things that exist not, and all things that exist; and wholly without understanding to strain toward union with Him whom neither being nor understanding can contain. For by the increasing and absolute re-

nunciation of thyself and all things else, thou shalt cast all things aside to be released from all, and so shalt be led upward to the super-essential ray of Divine darkness." As Kirk says, "Had Christianity endorsed this way it would have dwindled into a tiny sect of anti-social hermits, devoid of all interest in life, in art, in morality—indeed in everything except what has been called 'a static interest in an unconditional Reality.' "

The Church was rescued from this danger by the rationalism of Thomas Aquinas, who taught her to approach the contemplation of God through meditating upon His works, and by the Christ-centered mysticism of Bernard of Clairvaux and the Christ-centered method of meditation of Ignatius Loyola and François de Sales. For those who contemplate or meditate upon the life of Jesus and the Cross are brought to the true God, and are led inevitably by such contemplation to works of love.

The search for the vision of God, then, which neither leaves Christ behind nor tries to go beyond him, does not lead men away from the life of service, but leads them to that life. Indeed it is Kirk's belief that no true and useful service is possible except by those who have the true spirit of worship. "The danger of service as an ideal," he says, "is that it fosters the spirit of patronage; the glory of worship is to elicit the grace of humility. Without humility there can be no service worthy of the name; patronizing service is self-destructive—it may be the greatest of all disservices. . . . If, then, we would attempt to do good with any sure hope that it will prove good and not evil, we must act in the spirit of humility; and worship alone can make us humble."

But there is another criticism to believing that the Vision of God is the *summum bonum* which is often made to-day. They grant that the quest of the vision in this life is adventurous enough, and involves expenditure of energy enough to satisfy the most dauntless soul. For inevitably those who have caught a glimpse of God are drawn onward by the splendor and winsomeness of that partial vision, to risk all in God's service, and he who yields to the demands which the revelation of God to his

soul makes upon him need not complain that life is monotonous or dull or tame. But what of the life beyond this life when the strife is over and the pilgrimage is at an end? The active man of to-day finds it hard or impossible to look forward with joy to an occupation so seemingly tame as the eternal contemplation of God. Indeed it seems to him both a dull and selfish occupation and he cannot believe that God has called him to such a life, and so imagines the next life as one in which the service of man will still be present as well as the love of God.

This objection, serious though it be, Kirk does not answer. In fact he suggests that it is our very goal to mount up beyond the life of service to one in which our sole activity will be the contemplation of God.

In his *Faith of a Moralist* Professor A. E. Taylor does answer this objection, or rather does his best to answer it, for speculations on the nature of the world to come are hardly to be advanced dogmatically. Life, he tells us, is not completely a matter of overcoming evil, any more than art is a matter of overcoming the faults of our technique. Should we by God's grace finally be brought into a state of being in which all evil was conquered, all sin overcome, we would no longer be able actively to serve our fellows by helping them up the path, since they like us would be at the summit. But we would then be free to enjoy with them the endless variety and richness of the life of God. The vision of one would be wider and fuller than the vision of the other, and that added richness we could share. There would be no more progress toward life, but progress in life. So, then, even for the blessed the vision of God may still imply love and the expression of love in serving, and activity—indeed love and service and activity much freer, much more creative, much more adventurous than is possible under the limitations of this earthly life, where so much effort is expended on preparing to live or preparing others to live, rather than in living to the full and sharing our lives to the full.

The vision of God is the highest good of man—not the joy that we get from that vision, but the vision itself (for to seek

for God and to love Him is very different from seeking the thrill of searching for Him, or the sense of exaltation in finding Him). With this main thesis of Kirk we agree, if by the vision of God we mean that knowledge of God which is revealed to us above all in the life of Jesus, and which not only humbles us and draws us to Him, but which also opens our eyes to our neighbors' needs, and leads us to love and serve them—and brings us in all things to seek to do God's will. But we cannot agree with Kirk that this kind of knowledge of God is given more fully to those who approach God after the manner of the Catholic than after the manner of the Protestant. Especially we cannot agree with Kirk that the Catholic type of private devotion, as we find it at its best in *The Introduction to the Devout Life* by François de Sales—"to be used by people living in the world"—is more truly Christian, produces a more humble kind of character, or leads to a deeper knowledge of God or a more ardent love of men than the more Protestant type (as Heiler calls it, the prophetic type) which is to be found not only in the prayers of Bunyan and Fox and Luther, but indeed in most of the prayers of the Old and New Testament. The more formal type, beginning with a ready-made meditation or act of devotion, has indeed its place if we are to pray regularly. Luther recognized this as well as François de Sales. "It is useful," Luther says, "to awaken prayer that it may have strength and warmth—that we gladly read, sing and hear God's word, and that we diligently read through the Psalter and go to Church . . . so will the Spirit be enkindled within us." But the more spontaneous prayer growing out of the needs, the difficulties, the fears, the hopes, the temptations and the joys of him who is endeavoring to do God's will or to find God's will is surely prayer at its finest and best.

Indeed this is the kind of prayer which arose from the heart of Jesus as he strove to do His Father's will, or rejoiced that His Father's will was done—rather than mental prayer. The desire to seek God and find His will for us is more characteristically Christian than the desire to behold Him in His beauty. To do God's will, we must know Him—that is indeed true,—but to

know Him better we must constantly strive to do His will, and cast ourselves upon His mercy, and it is the doing of God's will as well as the contemplation of God's goodness and love which is the highest good. The Reign of God or The Kingdom of God better expresses that final goal of God's creative and purposeful love and of our response thereto—than the vision of God.

Finally, we agree with Kirk that in modern Christianity there has been a tendency both among Jesuits and Protestants to make prayer so practical that worship has been all but displaced by prayer as self-training in virtue in the first case, and by prayer as petition in the second. Yet we must protest against his assumption that prayers for physical blessings have no place, or a very meagre one, in the highest type of devotion. He follows the erroneous tradition which assumes that the daily bread for which our Lord taught us to pray is supersensible bread. But surely Jesus taught us to pray for all things necessary for our bodies as well as for our souls. Even the best of Christians that they and theirs be delivered from sickness and from slums as well as from sins and from temptations. A better economic and a juster social order are surely legitimate objects for Christian prayer, and indeed inevitable objects of prayer for those who see their world in the light of a true vision of God.

This book of Kirk's, then, is long, but interesting throughout. It throws much light upon the origin of ascetic practices in the Church, upon the origin of monasticism, and upon the origin of canon law and church discipline. While we feel that Kirk has underestimated the part which the Protestant has played in the search for the vision of God, and especially the part he has played in making that search more possible for laymen as well as priest; while he has undervalued the prophetic type of prayer, and has put too high a value on formal ascetic practices, yet he has gone far towards establishing his main thesis—that only those who love God can meet the deepest needs of their neighbors, and that by no earthly good or goods can man be satisfied, but only by a life of fellowship and communion with the Eternal, and that such a life can never reach its consummation in the world in which we now live.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

*By BURTON SCOTT EASTON, General Theological Seminary*

Palestinian archaeology during the year 1930 reported steady progress but no very spectacular results.

At Tell Beit Misrim (Kiriath-Sepher?) the work was carried on under the joint auspices of Xenia and Pittsburgh Theological Seminaries; Dr. Albright acting as director. At the end of 1929 it was supposed that six strata would account for all that remained but the researches of the past season increased this number to eleven. Six of these belong to the Middle Bronze period, and only the two upper to the age of Israel. In the latter two Astarte figurines, broken ostraka with incised (illegible) names and a few stamped jar handles were the chief finds. The next lower layer, however, which is Canaanitish, yielded a stone lion—the first of pre-Roman date known in Palestine—and an offering table carved with three lions. In the still earlier strata pottery fragments have assisted in clearing up the history of Palestinian ceramics.

At Jerash (Gerasa) the combined forces of the Yale University expedition and the American Society of Oriental Research have seriously begun a plan for clearing the entire (Roman) city, a task whose completion will need something like thirty years. In 1930 work was centered on the Temple of Artemis but it has not yet progressed far enough even to reveal the full plan of the structure. No remains earlier than the Roman period have come to light.

Sir Flinders Petrie's finds at Tell-el-Ajjul (four miles south of Gaza) have been restricted to the Neolithic and Early Bronze periods.

At Ain-shems Dr. Grant of the Haverford expedition discovered a potsherd inscribed in ink; its stratum belongs to about B.C.

1500. As yet it is undeciphered but its characters seem to represent an early form of the Semitic alphabet.

The University of Chicago expedition, under Dr. Guy, continued its clearing of the Solomonic level at Megiddo; the ruins of the city are so extensive that to photograph them as a whole required the use of a balloon.

M. C. M. Fitzgerald, who heads the University of Pennsylvania expedition at Beisan, had the common experience of excellent finds for the pre-Israelitic and Byzantine periods but very little for the Biblical age.

At Jericho the excavations have been resumed by Professor John Garstang, of Liverpool University. It may now be said to be established that Jericho was founded well before B.C. 2000; it was refortified about B.C. 1800 and again some two hundred years later. Still later it was burned but the archaeological evidence for the date is conjectural: B.C. 1350 is a fair possibility and would coincide roughly with the Hebrew invasion. The city was rebuilt somewhere in the period B.C. 900-600.

At Petra and Amman very little was done. The work at other sites has no significance for the Biblical age but is helping greatly in clearing up the early and historical and prehistorical periods. The dolmens still remain an unsolved enigma.

The passing of George Foot Moore takes from us the last of the great scholars who lived through the transition from the non-critical to the critical eras of Biblical study in this country. Born in 1851 he was educated at Yale and at Union Seminary and was ordained to the Presbyterian ministry in 1878. After six years spent in the pastorate he was called to Andover in 1883 as Professor of Hebrew. He held this chair until 1902, when he was made Professor of Theology at the same institution, but two years later he was called to Harvard as Professor of the History of Religion; he remained there until his retirement a few years ago. When one compiles a list of Dr. Moore's formal volumes he is apt to be a little surprised at the scanty number in proportion to the enormous influence that he exerted, but, as a matter of fact, Dr. Moore was extraordinarily active in contributions to the

theological periodicals and the *Encyclopedia Biblica* and it was through these monographs that he gave the world the chief fruits of his extraordinary erudition. A bound volume was to him the climax of a long series of published studies, not to be undertaken until he felt that he was really master of his subject. His first important book (1895) was the *Judges* in the *International Critical Commentary*, a work that towered far above the rest of the early Old Testament volumes in that series and one that marked a very real epoch in American understanding of Semitic problems. It was followed three years later by a treatment of the same topic in the *Polychrome Bible* and two years later yet by *The Book of Judges in Hebrew*. His attention was then drawn more and more to the study of comparative religions, issuing in his *History of Religions* (1913-1919), although in 1913 he also published his *Literature of the Old Testament*. In 1926 came his *Judaism*, the supplementary volume to which he finished just before his death. All his work rested on almost incredibly full bibliographical knowledge; he could cite from memory the most obscure contributions to any theme in which he was interested. His temptation was the constant temptation of any teacher, the desire to present his subject in so clear and logical a fashion that it would cling in his students' memories. The result was at times an oversimplification: in his *Judaism*, for instance, his exposition of the religion is more what it might have become in the hands of spiritually-minded logicians than what it actually was in history.

Another very great figure in the world of religion was Nathan Söderblom, Archbishop of Upsala. His work in the cause of peace is so widely known that it is needless to describe it here, and the same applies to his unsparing efforts in the cause of Christian unity. What is not so generally familiar is his high standing in the field of comparative religions, where he was one of the group of Scandinavian scholars who anticipated by almost a generation the German specialists of to-day. Born in 1866, he began writing at the close of the last century, his first topic being Zoroastrianism. His four-volume work *Främmende Religions-*

urkender established his reputation in 1908, which was followed in 1910 by his two-volume *Religionsproblemet* and his *Allmänna religionshistorien* (third edition in 1919). His *Natürliche Theologie* came in 1913 and his *Gudströns Uppkomst* the next year, while in 1920 he edited the fifth edition of Tiele's *Kompendium der Religionsgeschichte* (practically rewritten). All this in addition to other works on the same general subject, not a few historical studies in general church history and several practical and devotional books. During the past decade his interests largely centered in Christian union.

Harald Höffding, who was eighty-eight years old, spent all his active life as Professor of Philosophy at the University of Copenhagen until his retirement in 1915. He entered philosophy through psychology, and a text-book of his on the latter subject (1882) passed through ten Danish editions (the last in 1925), five German, three Russian, two French, two Spanish, one English, one Polish and one Japanese. His *Ethics* (1887) and his *History of Philosophy* (1894) were likewise translated into the leading European languages, and many of his other works into English, French or German. With his constant emphasis on the totality of all phenomena as a whole—a totality that philosophy seeks to analyze—he viewed the "all" as constantly greater than the analysis and in his voluntarism he had affinities with Bergson. His system he described as "critical positivism," in which ample room was provided for religion.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Psalms: a suggested revision of the Prayer Book Version and Twelve Old Testament Canticles.* Selected by John Neale Dalton. Cambridge University Press, 1931, pp. xii + 179. \$2.50.

This is largely a reprint of the Psalter as revised by Canon Dalton for his edition of the English Prayer Book issued by the Cambridge University Press in 1920. To this has been added a selection from Old Testament Canticles which is admirably adapted for use in the public services of the Church. There can be little doubt as to the appropriateness of such Canticles as the *Song of Hannah*, the *Song of Hezekiah*, and other hymns such as are here recommended.

It is scarcely necessary to say that Canon Dalton's work is characterised by sound scholarship and a trained liturgical sense. Some of his emendations in the way of new translation or arrangement are distinctly helpful. Such is the rendering (in Ps. i and elsewhere) of 'asher' as 'happy' rather than 'blessed.' In certain cases there are signs of a *tour de force*, as in the adapting of the acrostics of the Hebrew Psalter to the English alphabetic scheme. In the 119th Psalm some violence is done to the sense of the original by making a whole section conform to this device—eight verses beginning with A, and so on ruthlessly to the end. Again, in certain psalms the terseness of the original Hebrew is almost lost in an expository paraphrase. In consequence, some verses read anything but smoothly.

But the main failure comes from an enforced respect for the Masoretic text such as forbids the elimination of glosses and interpolations, however obvious. After all, though Canon Dalton's work is advertised as "a greatly daring attempt," it would have to be much more daring to make the Psalter fully intelligible. Revision of the old versions, of course, as in our own American Prayer Book, may accomplish much that is desirable,

but until revisers are bold enough to reestablish the original text much of their work will inevitably be vain.

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

*Judaism in the First Century of the Christian Era, the Age of the Tannaim.*  
Volume III. By George Foot Moore. Harvard University Press, 1930,  
pp. xi + 206.

Time has only served to justify Professor Foakes-Jackson's estimate of Professor Moore's *Judaism* published in this Review (Volume X, pp. 23-26). Although it is generally recognized that Dr. Moore states the case as favorably as possible to Judaism, it appears that more scholars are coming to admit that the unfavorable and partial estimates of first century Judaism—even such estimates as Bousset's and Schürer's—are in need of correction. Surely no religion is ever to be truly interpreted unless it is taken at its very best. What men aspire to be matters even more than what they actually are. Hence the traditional Judaism of Christian theology, which has been little more than a foil for the Gospels and for St. Paul, is not at all dependable. The great value of Moore's work is that it sets forth, in sympathetic fashion and with great learning, an estimate of Judaism which is uniformly favorable and interpretative, rather than destructively critical.

The present volume contains not only additional notes on Volumes I and II, but also additional bibliographical references. Of course the notes reenforce Professor Moore's views already expressed, though practically no attention is paid to adverse reviews, and no attempt is made to enter into controversy.

The same view is maintained of the variety of Judaism in the period preceding the fall of Jerusalem. "Judaism was much less homogeneous than it appears in the Tannaite sources; parties, sects, schools, or looser groups differed and contended over points of major and minor importance."

Some of the notes are longer than others; the most important of these are listed in the table of contents. One of the most interesting is the one on St. Paul where it is recognized that

"To Jews . . . it is a perpetual amazement how a Jew, on his own testimony, brought up in an orthodox home, a professed Pharisee, for a time, it is reported, a student in the school of the elder Gamaliel, evidently well-versed in the Scriptures and the hermeneutics of the day, should ever have come to make such assertions or assumptions" as he does regarding the Law. It is pointed out also that Paul's ignoring, and by implication denying, of the great prophetic doctrine of repentance is "from the Jewish point of view inexplicable." The only possible solution of the problem seems to be that Paul was "not writing to convince Jews but to keep his Gentile converts from being convinced by Jewish propagandists who insisted that faith in Christ was not sufficient for salvation apart from the observance of the Law" (pp. 150-1). In other words, Paul's version of Judaism is a one-sided and unsympathetic one dictated more or less by the exigencies of controversy.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

*Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften, Siebente Abteilung). By Adolf Jülicher. Siebente Auflage; neubearbeitet in verbindung mit Erich Fascher. Tübingen: Mohr, 1931, pp. xvi + 629. M. 20.

In 1906 appeared what we should call the third revised edition of this standard "liberal" introduction to the New Testament. After a quarter-century its learned author, handicapped by age and blindness, has nevertheless carried through, with the aid of a younger scholar, a fourth revision. Prof. Jülicher has himself revised the sections on the Pauline epistles (save the Pastorals) and Hebrews, the canon, and the text, while Professor Fascher has revised the remaining half. The new edition is 50 pages longer than that of 1906.

It is a real revision, both in the original author's half and in his new collaborator's. For example, Prof. Jülicher has abandoned the authenticity of II Thes., rejecting at the same time Harnack's hypothesis. He rejects Lietzmann's view that Peter was leader of the opponents in Galatia, as well as Ropes' argument

that they were non-Christian Jews of Galatia, and Lütgert's hypothesis of two groups, Judaizers and Pneumatics. With the old sharpness he refutes Zahn's argument for dating Gal. before any other epistle of Paul. He has restudied the problem of the literary unity of II Cor., and has of course brought the pages on Pauline chronology up to date. He is no longer so favorable to the theory that Rom. 16 is a letter to Ephesus. He rejects the hypothesis of a Pauline imprisonment at Ephesus. In the section on the Canon, Marcion's work is more fully considered; and in that on the Text, the old Latin versions.

Prof. Fascher has been equally thorough in bringing his half of the revision into touch with contemporary study, *e.g.* in the section on the Epistle of James accepting with reserve the new form of the old theory of a Christianized Jewish writing. But he adds more to the sections on the Catholic Epistles than to those on the Synoptic Gospels, which are but little changed. His estimate of the value of "Formgeschichte" (pp. 368-9) stresses chiefly the danger of forgetting, in the untangling of modifying influences, the original source of the deeds and sayings, Jesus himself. The negative attitude to any genuine tradition in the Fourth Gospel and to all views of its authorship is maintained in the revision; similarly as to the sources of Acts. In view of 25 years of advance in study a less conservative revision of the sections on the Gospels and Acts would have been welcome.

It is notable that English, French and American work is more often taken account of than in earlier editions. The reviewer dissents from the judgment (p. 31) that in "the International Critical Commentary . . . despite the great number of collaborators the similarity in value and position has hitherto been well sustained." Of a series which varies from Gould's Mark to Charles' Revelation this is a curious description.

Jülicher's Introduction has for 37 years been truly indispensable for the serious student; in its new form it continues to be so.

NORMAN NASH.

*The Martyrs: A Study in Social Control.* By Donald W. Riddle. University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. xi + 231. \$3.00.

Professor Riddle has made himself an authority in the field of the early Christian martyrologies. He has already demonstrated in published articles the process of transition from Jewish apocalypse to early Christian martyrology. In the present volume he shows in detail how the motives underlying the production of the martyrologies were really at work in the Christian society preparing and training the martyrs for the trial of their faith.

To many persons it will come as a surprise to learn that the martyrs were not simply occasional heroic individuals who chose to die rather than give up their religion; but were, instead, shock troops who were specially chosen and trained for this ordeal, and were part of a thought-out strategy in the great religious conflict of the later persecutions. The martyr was not an individual, witnessing to his own convictions; he was a member of the church and singled out very often to testify to the church's faith in the unequal but eventually victorious conflict.

Dr. Riddle canvasses the whole field of the early Christian literature for information and makes a brilliant application of the social-historical and psychological methods of interpretation. He studies the preparation of the martyr, the production of the attitudes requisite for martyrdom, the influence of the group, and the method and basis of control.

Chapter vii discusses some 'Earlier Situations'—since he holds that the 'persecutions' did not really begin until the time of Decius. The 'earlier situations' are the spasmodic outbreaks against Christians from the first century on. Even here, however, we can see some of the technique or strategy of defense being applied.

Chapter viii discusses 'a primitive martyrology'—in the Gospel of Mark. The author does not suggest that the Gospel of Mark is a martyrology, but that the Passion Story it contains is classifiable under this category. This is a point that scholars of the present day are more and more inclined to recognize, and Riddle has thrown some additional light on the question by

pointing out contacts between Mark's Passion Narrative and the early martyrological literature.

The final chapter, 'The Martyr Interest in the Gospels,' is an excellent piece of *Formgeschichte*, and shows how this element was effectively moulded by the situation in which the early Christians found themselves. In sum, "persecution was . . . a major influence upon early Christianity. As it is viewed in situations where the sources permit an intimate acquaintance with Christian life, the entire technique of control is discoverable."

Dr. Riddle has broken fresh ground in this volume, and has pointed out a factor in primitive Christianity to which no one of us can henceforth close our eyes in studying the Gospels or the other religious literature.

FREDERICK C. GRANT.

*Since Calvary: an Interpretation of Christian History.* By Lewis Browne. New York: Macmillan, 1931, pp. xiii + 443. \$3.50.

Those who have read *This Believing World* will know what to expect. Colorful and arresting style, clarity of exposition, an eye for the bizarre and dramatic, bold and perilous generalizations, facile but not always trustworthy command of facts, considerable acquaintance with relevant recent literature, the fanaticism of an iconoclast, the scornful disdain of an 'emancipated thinker.' The book is likely to be a best seller in Church history. But it is safe to predict that it will not be put into the hands of Sunday School children, and that it will distress as many as it instructs. For the author's interpretation of historic Christianity is devoid of sympathy, and indeed of real understanding. Always exhibiting the seamy side, he ignores the spiritual strivings, the intellectual endeavours, and the positive achievements of the Church's life. Great movements are dismissed with neat psychological labels: the monks are always *masochistic*, the inquisitors *sadistic*, the sectaries *frenetic*.

The book is aptly named, for the author dodges discussion of the significance of that nebulous figure, Jesus. At any rate, Christianity owes little or nothing to him. Indeed, there seems

to be little that is specifically Christian about this synthetic way of escape from the burden of the senile and decaying ancient world. If we understand him aright, Browne regards Unitarianism as the only genuinely *Christian* form of Christianity. All this may be journalistic writing of a high order, but it is hardly scientific Church history. But lest we fall into the same condemnation, we hasten to add that we have no right to expect a liberal Jew to be fully just to Christian orthodoxy.

As an example of style and interpretation, the following dictum is worth quoting:

When the old Roman Empire passed away, the gleam remained, evoking a face of its own, the Roman Catholic Church, across which to play. It was at first an eager, youthful face, uplifted and mobile. For many years it shone like the morning sun, struggling to break through a lowered sky. Then the face began to harden. The fire died down in the narrowing eyes, and the smile became a frozen grimace. By the twelfth century the Church had turned into a mask, a rigid and aged mask made the more hideous by the paint with which it was daubed. The blood of life had retreated from the flesh, leaving it pouched and sallow with tradition. The features stood out in grotesque distortion, the mouth very wide from shrieking anathemas, the nose long and sharp to detect heresies; and the skin was covered with the scab of corruption.

Yet we recall that we have heard somewhere of the "glory of Gothic"; and there are those who think the thirteenth the greatest of centuries!

P. V. NORWOOD.

*Bernard of Morval, De Contemptu Mundi, re-edited with Introduction and copious variants from all the known MSS.* By H. C. Hoskier. London: Bernard Quaritch (1929), pp. xl + 104. (12s. 6d.)

This very complete edition contains a preface divided into three parts (pp. vii–xxxiv); the prose *prologus* written by Bernard in dedicating his poem (pp. xxxv–xxxix); a key to the symbols which designate the sources of the text (p. xl); the text with variant readings (pp. 1–101); and an appendix giving the unsupported readings of one MS. (pp. 102–104).

In the long and interesting preface the editor deals in considerable detail with many questions that arise in connection with a work so little known to the reading public. He corrects a num-

ber of misstatements that have gained currency in regard to it, gives a full list of the printed editions that have appeared and of translations into English (quoting in full Dr. Neale's translation of part of Canto I), indicates the nature of the poem's contents, illustrates and analyzes the literary devices of the poet, and gives a complete account of the manuscripts and principal printed editions.

From this it appears that the author of the poem, the monk Bernard of the monastery of Cluny, is in the earliest of the MSS. called *Morvalensis* (that is, of Morval or Maurienne), not *Morlanensis* or *Morlacensis* (of Morlais or Morlas) as he is usually designated (p. xv). Bernard flourished about A.D. 1150, and dedicated his poem to Peter the Venerable, who was Abbot of Cluny from 1122 to 1155 (p. xv). The poem was not first printed in 1483 in Paris, as has frequently been stated; this mistake arose from confusing the author with Bernard of Clairvaux, whose much shorter poem '*De Contemptu Mundi*' appeared in a volume published in Paris by Gaillard in that year (p. xiv). The first edition of the '*De Contemptu Mundi*' of Bernard of Cluny was published at Basle in 1557; the second at Bremen in 1597; since then there have been four others in Germany, none in France or Italy; the last edition (the seventh, and the first in England) was the critical edition published by T. Wright in the Rolls Series, London, 1872 (pp. i, xv). All of these are very rare to-day. "It is therefore," says Mr. Hoskier, "not inappropriate for me to bring out a new and complete edition, especially as 'fouilles' are at this very moment going on at Cluny (founded 910 or 916), and interest has somewhat revived in this forgotten and decayed Abbey" (p. xv), and again "under these circumstances no apology or explanation is necessary on my part for printing and issuing a legible critical edition of the whole poem, so that the reading public of letters may have access to the grandest Latin poem of its kind, and judge for itself of the literary merit of this twelfth century satire" (p. i).

The poem consists of three cantos of 1078, 974 and 914 lines respectively, 2966 in all.

Previous to Wright's edition of 1872, some extracts had appeared in England in Archbishop Trench's 'Sacred Latin Poetry' (London, Parker, 1849), and in America in "The Seven Great Hymns of the Mediæval Church" (New York, Randolph, 1865-1866). Dr. Neale's free English paraphrase was first published in 1851 (p. i). It deals with less than the first 400 lines of Canto I, with considerable omissions. Mr. Hoskier thinks rather poorly of it. "Some lines," he says, "are very weak. All is unequal and utterly inferior to the original." He quotes specific examples (pp. xxi, xxii). Elsewhere he modifies this criticism, stating that "Neale has done excellent work in his reproduction," though "the original Latin remains of far higher worth" (p. xiv). From Neale's version come the four well-known hymns found in Episcopal hymnbooks, beginning respectively—'The world is very evil; the times are waxing late'; 'Brief life is here our portion, brief sorrow, shortlived care'; 'For thee, O dear, dear country, mine eyes their vigils keep'; and 'Jerusalem the golden, with milk and honey blest.' There seems to have been no English rendering of any part of Cantos II and III until Mr. Preble's prose translation appeared in Mr. S. M. Jackson's 'Source of Jerusalem the Golden' (Chicago, University Press, 1910) (p. i). Preble's prose translation Mr. Hoskier calls 'a useful one, but only as a base for something better' (p. xii).

An English translation in the metres of the original has been made on several occasions for short passages, but without much success. The metre is rhyming hexametres with internal rhyme at the end of the second and fourth feet—*leonini trlices caudati*,—with dactyls throughout except in the last foot, which is a trochee or a spondee. It is a metre which makes great demands on the poet, so much so that Bernard in his Prologue claims that nothing but divine inspiration could have made him able to complete three books (cantos) in it (p. xxxviii).

In this poem Bernard deals in strenuous fashion with the evils of his day. Over against this picture of his own age he sets in vivid contrast a description of the New Jerusalem in Canto I, and of the fabled Golden Age in Canto II. The third Canto is

largely devoted to an attack upon the evils in the Church of his day, and this may explain the neglect of the poem in countries where the influence of the Roman Church has prevailed.

Mr. Hoskier thinks highly of the poem, and rightly so. He cites many lines to illustrate the characteristic features of the writer's style, showing with what skill he varies his cadences and changes his arrangement of words, and by repetition and variety gains emphasis and vigor (pp. ix-xi). He quotes from Neale, "I have no hesitation in saying that I look on these verses of Bernard as the most lovely—of mediæval poems" (p. xiii). Trench (p. 286) concedes high merits to the poem, though he dislikes its metre, and states by way of criticism of its contents that "the chief defect in the poem—is its want of progress: the poet, instead of advancing, eddies round and round his subject, recurring again and again to that which he seemed to have thoroughly treated and dismissed." The present reviewer as he read the poem thought there was some justice in this criticism.

Part III of the preface (pp. xxii–xxxiv) is a most praiseworthy piece of work. It gives an exhaustive account of the manuscripts, which are more numerous than the printed editions. Eleven MSS. and three fragments are cited, as well as the printed editions of 1557, 1597 and 1872. The value of each is carefully estimated. They seem to divide into four groups. Many of these MSS. are of the XIIIth century, "some of them not much later than fifty years after Bernard wrote" (p. xxiii). Mr. Hoskier seems justified in claiming for his text that "it is based upon a consensus of the MSS. and of the best of the MSS." (p. xxviii).

In conclusion the editor, after repeating that "as all the editions of the poem of Bernard are unprocurable, we need offer no apology for issuing this edition" refers to his earlier statement that "every edition is *rarissima* and not safe from depredation even in public libraries" (p. xiii), by adding this sting: "I hope it may not be malicious for me to say in closing that the present folio form of this edition of the poem may render it more difficult for pilferers to abstract copies from public (or private) libraries to which they may have access" (p. xxxiv).

The folio form gives dignity to the book; its pages, containing each about thirty of the long seventeen-syllable lines in large type and well-spaced, with the variant readings in smaller type at the bottom, have a most attractive appearance. A full-page photograph of a page of a Paris MS. on the fly-leaf, and a striking title page are other attractive features. Paper and printing and the general make-up of the volume are beyond criticism. It is a book that is easy to read and a treasure to possess.

W. A. KIRKWOOD.

*A History of the Diocese of Ohio, until the Year 1918.* By George Franklin Smythe. Cleveland: published by the Diocese, 1931, pp. xii + 627. Illustrated.

The Diocese of Ohio is fortunate in its archival material and fortunate in its historian; all things considered, it is perhaps as felicitous in its history as one may reasonably expect. Dr. Smythe has made effective use of the documentary treasures preserved at Kenyon College and at the Cathedral in Cleveland, and has availed himself generously of the considerable pamphlet and periodical literature. The story of the Episcopal Church in northern Ohio may be written in terms of four remarkable bishops—Chase, McIlvaine, Bedell, Leonard—whose episcopates together more than span the century covered in this volume. After twelve years Bishop Chase resigned amid painful circumstances, with twenty years of activity ahead of him in Illinois. The ninety-eight years from Bishop McIlvaine's consecration to the death of Bishop Leonard are perhaps without a parallel in the history of the American Church. Prior to 1874 the Diocese was co-extensive with the State.

Most of us are accustomed to think of Philander Chase as the pioneer of Episcopacy in Ohio. But Dr. Smythe reminds us that Chase had worthy predecessors in Joseph Doddridge, James Kilbourne, and Roger Searle. It was due to the pertinacity of such men under discouraging conditions that the first diocese beyond the Alleghanies was organized. Feeble at home, it had to face apathy and opposition among eastern Churchmen. Dr.

Smythe shows remarkable restraint in dealing with Bishop Hobart's exasperating treatment of Chase prior to his consecration, and again during his first visit to England. We may charitably suppose that the Bishop of New York had some insight into Chase's difficult temperament; and subsequent events at Kenyon and in the diocese to some extent justify him in his obstructive attitude. Chase had an abundance of apostolic zeal and spared himself not at all in his labors for the Gospel. But he was always telling the world about it. And conscious that he was doing God's work—with something of the ancient prophet about him—it never occurred to him that his judgment or his methods could by any possibility be wrong. He could never work long with other men. He was determined to rule as a patriarch in a frontier democracy. That was the tragedy of his picturesque and otherwise splendid career.

The general reader will be chiefly interested in Chase's mission to England, in the establishment of the institutions at Gambier, in the friction between Bishop and faculty which involved the whole diocese and brought Chase's episcopate to a sudden and inglorious close. Dr. Smythe writes as an historian, not merely as an antiquarian. His judgments are sound, his interpretations illuminating, his factual contributions by no means inconsiderable.

The militant Evangelical, McIlvaine, could not avoid being involved in opposition to the rising tide of ritualism. Nor could the like-minded Bedell. Some distressing incidents occurred which seem to speak of a by-gone age. Much ado over altars and surpliced choirs, over candles and crucifix. Reverberations of the Onderdonk and Cheney cases. At times the Gambier institutions were well-nigh desolated by the controversy. Not until the coming of Bishop Leonard, after a most extraordinary contest that has its comic side, did peace and harmony reign.

The volume is an important contribution, not only to the ecclesiastical history of Ohio, but to the social history of the Episcopal Church as well. It is for the most part as entertaining as it is scholarly. The trivialities of parish history are relegated to chapters which may easily be passed over. There is an excellent

bibliography, with particular indication of manuscript material, and a copious index. There are many pictures of old churches and of clerical personages. Altogether it comes pretty close to being a model diocesan history—save that one wishes there were some maps showing the planting and growth of the Church.

P. V. NORWOOD.

*Notes on the Catholic Liturgies.* By Archdale A. King. New York: Longmans, Green, 1930, pp. viii + 544. (21 s.)

This work, when completed, will furnish an account of the present-day liturgies belonging to Churches in communion with Rome. This first volume deals with the following Western Rites: the Roman, Derived Monastic Rites, the Lyon Rite, The Rite of Braga, the Ambrosian and the Mozarabic; and with these Eastern Rites: the Byzantine Rite (with nine variants), and the Armenian Rite. A second volume is to include six other Oriental Rites.

The book is written for the interested amateur rather than for the expert. A brief history of each Rite is given (in the case of the Eastern Rites a history of the body of Christians using it), then an analysis of the Rite, illustrated by extracts, with an account of the ceremonial, in so far as it varies from the normal Roman ceremonial.

The Rite of Braga is probably the least familiar to most readers. It is interesting to discover, in the history of this Rite, the difficulties which Rome has with the 'Romanizing zeal of her own children.' This Romanizing party in Braga was sternly rebuked by Pius XI, for, in his Encyclical *Inter multiplices gravesque curas*, he not only commended the Rite of Braga but commanded 'ut sacerdotes Archdioecesis Bracarensis, sacrosanctum celebraturi Missae Sacrificium, omnes et singuli hoc uno utantur Missali' (p. 180).

The viewpoint of the author is not only Roman, but what the authors of the Articles would have described as 'Romanensis.'

W. F. WHITMAN.

*The Validity of Anglican Ordinations.* By Mgr. Chrysostom Papadopoulos, Archbishop of Athens. Translated and prefaced by J. A. Douglas. London: Faith Press; and Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1931. Pp. xxxiv + 114. Paper, \$80.

These studies, written for Orthodox readers, and appearing first as a series of papers in *Nea Sion*, the official organ of the Jerusalem Patriarchate, then in book form in 1925, are now translated with a lengthy introduction and additional notes by Dr. Douglas. The volume is a worthy companion to Douglas' own book, *The Relations of the Anglican Churches with the Eastern Orthodox, especially in regard to Anglican Orders*. No one who is interested in the efforts being made to bring these two great branches of the Church into closer accord can afford to overlook either of these important monographs. After a brief sketch of the course of Roman criticism of our Orders from the Nag's Head fable to the bull *Apostolicae Curae*, the Archbishop enters upon a more minute examination of the judgments, increasingly favorable, passed by Orthodox theologians during the last two generations. Of the "external and canonical" validity of our Orders the Orthodox have hardly doubted; yet the ambiguities and elasticities in some of our formularies (notably the Articles of Religion) have naturally left them in some uncertainty as to the soundness of our doctrine. Painstaking expositions of Anglican teaching, together with the revival of Catholic practice and the recession of the Articles, have gradually removed these misunderstandings, until, nine years ago, the Oecumenical Patriarch, acting upon the opinions of distinguished Orthodox theologians, felt himself warranted in pronouncing Anglican Orders to possess the same validity as those of the Roman, Old Catholic, and Armenian Churches. He is convinced as to the corporate mind of the Anglican family of Churches, apart from the vagaries of individuals. In short, the Orthodox are prepared to accept us on our own present profession and practice, without regard to past shortcomings.

P. V. NORWOOD.

*Proponents of Limited Monarchy in Sixteenth Century France: Francis Hotman and Jean Bodin.* Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, No. 334. By Beatrice Reynolds. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 210. \$3.50.

Beginning with a short account of the earlier attempts to limit the power of the French monarchy, and of the beginnings of French Protestantism, this treatise describes the political and religious developments of the seventh decade of the 16th century, as the background for the writings of Hotman the Huguenot and Bodin the monarchist. The former is depicted as the spokesman of a political theory for the Protestant cause in France, advocating in his tract 'Franco-Gallia' (on a very slim historical basis) the supremacy of the Estates General and the limitation of the royal power. His far more learned and less ardently religious contemporary Bodin is then presented as a contrast, with analyses of his *Methods* and *République*, where the royal power is seen as the only basis for the maintenance of national unity. In a short concluding section the two men and their theories are contrasted.

The relation of Hotman's views to his primary religious concern is clearly brought out, but Bodin's relative indifference to the religious issue is hardly stressed. Some mention of his later 'Heptaplomeres' would have brought out this difference. More surprising, since more pertinent to the author's theme of political theory, is the omission of any estimate of the relative importance and later influence of the two writers. The two men appear more or less of the same stature, whereas it is hardly disputable that Bodin was by far the abler theorist and the more important writer in the field of political theory.

N. B. NASH.

*Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, Book VIII.* With an introduction by Raymond Aaron Houk. Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. xii + 346. \$4.75.

Something of mystery hangs over the last three books of Hooker's great classic of ecclesiastical law. They were not published

until about a half-century after Hooker's death in 1600, and their manuscript history in the interval is more or less obscure. Do they substantially represent what Hooker wrote, or have they been to some extent corrupted? If the former, why were they not published with the first five books? If they have been corrupted, in what interest were the alterations carried through? Here is a neat historical-literary problem to which Houk addresses himself with admirable skill and acuteness. But it is more than a literary problem, because the *Ecclesiastical Polity* is both a primary product of the Anglican-Puritan controversy and an important contribution to English political philosophy.

Houk tells us that at the outset he had some idea of gaining credit to himself by demonstrating that a glaring forgery had been committed. He was finally convinced that there was neither forgery nor interpolation, and that the charges of corruption of the manuscripts were without foundation. As is generally known, the first four books were published in 1593, the fifth in 1597. Houk concludes that Book VI was subjected to such criticism that Hooker held it back for revision. This he did not live to complete; but Houk holds that the extant Book VI represents this partial revision. As to Books VII and VIII, Houk thinks them authentic as representing what Hooker offered for publication in 1593; yet they "have not that perfection which they would have possessed had Hooker lived to see them through the press." Very effectively he seems to dispose of Izaak Walton's charges of corruption by Puritan partisanship and later suggestions of tampering in other interests.

Part I (pages 3-147) is a scholarly introduction to the posthumous books of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Part II is a critical edition of the text of Book VIII, on the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Crown. With reference to this dissertation on the relations between Church and State, Hooker finds reason to think that its publication may have been prevented because the constitutional sentiments therein expressed were not altogether pleasing to the statesmen of Elizabeth and James I. A half-century later it had real value during the struggle between Charles I and the Parliamentarian party.

P. V. NORWOOD.

*The Fullness of Sacrifice. An Essay in Reconciliation.* By F. C. N. Hicks. Macmillan, 1930, pp. xii + 370. \$5.50.

The two important questions which have been the subject of much controversy in the history of Christendom have been: (1) In what manner and to what extent may the work of Christ be regarded as a sacrifice? (2) In what manner may the Eucharist be described as a sacrifice? The controversies have arisen from a misunderstanding of the real meaning of the word sacrifice. Like the majority of theological arguments, this one will be settled not by logic but by light. Much light has proceeded from the historical study of religion during the last few decades and Bishop Hicks has essayed to focus some of that light upon the subjects in question.

His work is not that of a research scholar but of one who interprets the findings of source scholars and who feels that this interpretation will do much to reconcile the differences between religious leaders. The scholars to whom he has turned are those whose work has become almost classic: Sir James G. Frazer, Robertson Smith, Davidson; from these he draws freely for both fact and theory. He recognizes that, to understand how and why the concept of sacrifice was used to describe the work of our Lord and the Eucharist which has always commemorated that work, one must know the connotations of the word when it was first so applied—that is, at the beginning of the Christian Era.

With Robertson Smith he assumes the communal meal to be the origin of sacrifice and, with Gray, he sees the gift idea increasing in importance with the passing of the centuries. He stresses the fact that the layman, before sacrifice, placed his hands upon the head of the sacrificial animal, thereby "identifying himself with the victim." He recognizes that the function of the sacred fire is to sublimate the victim into such form as will make possible its ascending to the deity. He knows that the death of the victim is more of a fact than a factor in the sacrifice, but he wants to allegorize somewhat upon the fact. The spirit of the book is excellent; the religious motif dominates it; it ought to be a step toward the reconciliation which the author desires. Cer-

tain facts, however, are omitted or under-emphasized in the book.

1. There was no blanket term, such as we have, in Old Testament phraseology, for "sacrifice." That contribution to religious vocabulary comes from the Latin and it has been with us so long that we are apt to forget its significance. There were "offerings," "burnt offerings," "peace offerings," "thank offerings," "sin offerings," "guilt offerings" and "whole burnt offerings," in addition to the "pesach," or "passover," but there was no term by which they were all connoted. We group them all under the one word "sacrifice" but the Hebrews did not; they had no such word.

2. Sacrifices, as acts of cult, were older than the concepts of the gods to whom they were later regarded as being offered. Their origin, therefore, must be sought in ideas anterior to that of a common meal with a deity. The idea of the common meal antedated the gift idea, but it was itself a later development of the process of rationalizing about cultic acts which had their rise in deeper and more primitive conceptions.

3. The "piacular idea," which troubles so many scholars, and leads so many laymen astray, is likewise of later development; nor did it have the significance which it so commonly connotes—that of effecting a change of heart in an angry deity. One illustration will suffice. The rites of the Day of Atonement were not regarded as obtaining the forgiveness of God; they were profound and humble recognitions of the graciousness of a pardon already bestowed. The sins which were ceremonially transferred to the scape goat had already been pardoned and, as so much religious offal, they were sent ceremonially and unceremoniously to the old ejected Azazel, regarded as the most worthy recipient of such rubbish.

4. Sacrifices were always acts of cult and the layman, in placing his hands upon the animal, identified himself, not with the animal, but with the rite to be performed. They were regarded, not as effecting a liaison, but as ratifying and expressing an already existent liaison between the worshipper and the deity.

5. The death of the victim had no significance whatever in the

offering of a sacrifice any more than roasting him had. Later attempts to allegorize upon the fact that the victim was deprived of his life invariably missed the whole function and purpose of sacrifice.

The early application of sacrificial terminology to the work of Christ was invariably an endeavor to interpret that work in the terms of worship, adoration and devotion. For that reason the same terminology was used to interpret the Eucharist which was the sole act of worship of early Christians and has always been the sole act of worship of the majority of Christians of all times.

Bishop Hicks's book marks a distinct step in the right direction and illustrates the truth of the dictum that "the only reason for publishing a book is to make the next book upon the same subject easier."

ROYDEN KEITH YERKES.

*A Philosophical Study of Mysticism.* By Charles A. Bennett. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1931, pp. xvii + 194. \$2.50.

There is an element of sadness in the fact that the present volume, written apparently some years ago, only now appears subsequently to the death of its richly endowed and beloved author. It was hardly necessary for Dr. Rufus M. Jones, who contributes a charming Preface, to tell us that "Charles Bennett was a 'yea-sayer,' one who met the world's noes with a deeper yes." This appears plainly on almost every page. There is also about the entire essay great felicity of phrasing and an evident acquaintance with the wide literature of mysticism. Dr. Bennett's mysticism, moreover, is of the type which leans rather to the theopathic than to the theosophic. He rightly sees that Christ came among us not to explain but to overcome the world. To know the truth—with our present mental equipment—would be to make us mad rather than, in the usual sense of the word, to make us free. So the experience of God obtained through quest and struggle gathers up into itself the final beatitude instead of merely giving us the ability to look up the answers at the end of the book of life.

The main lack of the volume is that the search for God is more strongly stressed than God's search for us—which is, of course, the doctrine of the Incarnation. Yet, if God is 'cognitively inescapable,' it is His movement towards us which is antecedent to any movement of ourselves towards Him. He must have been "borne in upon" us before we could "deduce" Him.

With whatever qualification, Dr. Bennett's *Study in Mysticism* is one to be heartily commended.

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

*The Making of Man.* The Bishop Paddock Lectures, 1929-30. By W. Cosby Bell. Macmillan, 1931, pp. 277. \$2.00.

Christian anthropology, for which St. Augustine used to be normative, has been clearly marked out of late as an inevitable battle-ground, with the certainty at least that St. Augustine's view of human nature will never regain the monopoly it has held. Professor Bell does not withstand him to the face; in fact, one of the characteristics of the atmosphere of Dr. Bell's book is the almost total absence of attack on anybody or anything. He prefers to exhibit a well-rounded conspectus of human life, as inclusive and harmonious within itself as practicable, and to let it commend itself on its own merits.

The key-word is *Life*, features of which are purposive striving and experimenting, mind and body, freedom and individuality—all more or less in different grades. Life is used to explain many things, but itself cannot be explained. What is life striving for? It is striving to live. The will to live is as far back as we can go. But assuming that, we have a key to creation, its values, ends, purposes, desires, loves, morals,—and their contraries: sin is failure of life, redemption is opening up the way to life again, and salvation is the "life indeed," the fulfilment of man's real wants.

We begin "by finding life good," and end "by finding that only the good life contains the values that the soul desires." So after all, God wants us to do what we really want to do. "Christianity appears to the minds of many of us too much as the discipline and

destruction, too little as the fulfilment and release, of ordinary human nature." Though totally unlike in method, this is not far, in result, from the Scholastic insistence that the good is the really desirable, that our "appetites" are indicative of our appointed "ends."

Obviously, this theistic vitalism is not demonstrated. It is far too serenely optimistic for some: it does not overwhelm Krutch, or come to grips with the Crisis Theology, which contradicts it at virtually every point. But it judges life with a sane trust in its values as now appreciated, that they will not fool us and let us down in regard to the best that is yet to be.

M. B. STEWART.

*The Flight from Reason.* By Arnold Lunn. Foreword by Dr. S. Parkes Cadman. Dial Press, 1931, pp. xv + 328. \$3.50.

The proponents of Naturalism from the French Encyclopedists down, and especially those of the scientific schools of the past hundred years, have arrogated to themselves the name of rationalists. They have to thank their opponents, however, for acquiescing in their assumed title and thus confirming them in it; until today a belief in the supernatural has come to be looked down upon as irrational.

Mr. Lunn points out, on the contrary, that the most perfect example of rationalism was the Scholastic philosophy and that the ethos of the past century has been a profound distrust of human reason and a reliance upon observation and experiment. Scientists are not rationalists but empiricists.

The author is neither a mediævalist nor a fundamentalist. He does not deplore that unbridled rationalism has been checked by the scientific spirit. He affirms that Faith, Reason, and Experiment—all three—are needed for an understanding of our world. What he does allege against scientific "naturalists" and materialists is that they are neither good rationalists nor good empiricists. They are all infected with what he calls the Victorian Heresy, which consists in the assumption that all reality is quantitative and metrical,—that you can learn all that there is to learn

with the aid of a pair of balances, a measuring rod, and a clock. On the basis of this purely *a priori* assumption the "naturalist" rejects, or rather refuses to consider, any phenomena that seem to involve other factors than matter and energy. Huxley said that the scientist should "sit down before fact as a little child, be prepared to give up every pre-conceived notion, follow humbly wherever and to whatever abysses nature leads." The author tells a long and well-documented story of the failure of Huxley, himself, and of the whole school of materialistic scientists since his day to live up to their excellent precept.

In short, the book is a devastating analysis of mechanism, whether in psychology, biology, or physics, brilliantly written in popular style, and as fascinating as Mr. Chesterton. If Mr. Harvey Wickham had not already preempted a certain sort of title, one would be tempted to advise the author to name his book "The Irrationalists."

CHARLES L. DIBBLE.

*Religionsgeschichte Europas.* By Carl Clemen. Vol. II. *Die noch bestehenden Religionen.* Heidelberg: Winter, 1931, pp. vii + 335. M. 10.

Dr. Clemen has crowded so much into this volume of 335 pages that it seems captious to expect more. But when we take from the volume the pages used for the illustrations and segregate the 96 pages devoted to European Judaism, the 50 dealing with Islam in Spain and elsewhere, and the 10 which describe Lamaism in Russia, it will be seen that there remain only 169 pages for the whole history of European Christianity. With 39 of these necessary for an account of Greek Christianity, and 58 for Roman Catholicism, the 72 left for the Protestant Churches—among which, naturally, the German denominations count for much with the author—there can be but a few inadequate paragraphs to tell the tale of English Christianity from the beginning to the present day. In fact, Anglicanism fares rather badly in the present volume, more, it must be acknowledged, through omission than through any display of bias. From this the book is creditably free. For instance, of the Methodist movement Dr. Clemen

writes: "J. Wesley selbst dagegen blieb mit den meisten seiner Anhänger (soweit sie eben nicht Dissenter waren) Zeit seiner Lebens in der Staatskirche, predigte und liess predigen nur ausserhalb der Kirchenstunden und gestaltete keinem Laienprediger, die Sakramente zur verwalten." The author, however, by insisting upon the mention of numerous obscure Protestant sects—some of them quite dead and forgotten—has left himself no space for the treatment of larger issues. The general sketch of religious movements in Europe is given with accuracy and fairness, but the method is too statistical and external to satisfy those who desire to know something of the deeper and stronger currents.

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

*Im Ringen um die Kirche. Gesammelte Aufsätze und Vorträge.* By Friedrich Heiler. Ernst Reinhardt, München, 1931, pp. 568. R. M. 12.

The reviewer who receives a German volume of 568 pages as a summer assignment is inclined to feel himself abused, but this collection of Friedrich Heiler's essays and addresses turned out to be a very pleasant surprise. The German is simple, the style clear, and the subject matter of the greatest interest. Heiler is best known in this country for his monumental book on Prayer. He should be known for his book on Catholicism, which is the finest study, both appreciative and critical, of the spirit of Roman Catholicism, known to the reviewer. The present volume centers in the thought of the Church and the hope of reunion. Heiler is unusually qualified to treat of these subjects, for he is an ecumenical personality, both by training and inclination, knowing both Roman Catholicism and Lutheranism from the inside, and having had close associations with Eastern Orthodoxy, Anglicanism and French Protestantism.

The volume opens with two essays under the heading, "The Whole Christ of the Whole Church," whose argument is that the Church needs for its wholeness the whole Christ, the cosmic Christ of Trinitarian faith, and that the wholeness of Christ can only be found in a comprehensive and many-sided Church. There

follow a group of essays on "The Catholic Church." The first of these deals with the three main types of Christianity, the Johannine type represented by Eastern Orthodoxy, the Petrine type represented by Roman Catholicism, the Pauline type found in the Evangelical Churches. The other essays in this section have to do with St. Francis, viewed as one of the deepest bonds between all types of Christians, with von Hügel, the greatest spirit in the Roman Church since Newman, and with the modernizing and reforming movements within Roman Catholicism.

The third and fourth sections of the book are discussions of Luther and his one-sided greatness, and of Harnack, the embodiment of the humanistic and historical trends in modern Protestant theology.

The fifth section presents Heiler's views on the Ecumenical Movement, especially on Lausanne and the relations of the Roman Church to the unity movement. The concluding section deals with The Catholic Revival within the Reformation Churches, including treatments of the Catholic movement in Anglicanism and of Apostolic Succession.

The great dream which pervades all the essays is that of an Evangelical Catholicism, a Church which bears the richness of Catholic teaching together with freedom, a Church which unites a full sacramental practice with the preaching of the Word, a Church which is whole and universal without the centralizing and hardening and legalising tendencies which Heiler sees as the curse of Romanism, a Church which treasures the priesthood and at the same time makes a place for the charismatic and prophetic ministry of lay Christians, a Church which includes the other-worldliness of ascetic monasticism with the vigorous will to accept and sanctify the world.

These essays have a special interest for Anglicans, both because of the intelligent appraisal of Anglicanism which they offer and because there is so much in Heiler that is congenial to the Anglican temper in its more Catholic forms. He sees in Anglicanism a Church which began with a Protestant mentality and predominantly Protestant official doctrine, but which carried on a Catho-

lic tradition in its liturgy. He welcomes the Catholic revival within Anglicanism, but fears that its over-legal and over-formal stress on Apostolic Succession may stand in the way of our proving to be the bridge-Church.

ANGUS DUN.

*The Clash of World Forces.* By Basil Mathews. Abingdon Press, 1931, pp. 174. \$1.50.

We are so close to the trees that we miss the woods. We live in one of the blindingly brilliant moments of history and are but dimly aware of it. To most of us, all the great world movements reported by flashes in our daily papers are disquieting evidences of widespread political and social convulsions following the Great War, and we hope things will soon quiet down. A few, however, who have historical perspective, see in these clashing world-forces the significant evidences of new national life and of a dawning internationalism. Mr. Basil Mathews is one who sees in the world-movements new opportunities for Jesus Christ. Mussolini, Masaryk, Stalin, Mustapha Kemal, Ibn Sa'oud, Sun Yat Sen, Mahatma Gandhi, through these great national leaders Mr. Mathews brings us close to the mysterious forces which are behind all these seething forces. And he faces the crisis with which each is associated by that world fellowship, the Christian Society, with its message of a Kingdom of God. He sees in the contemporary situation one of the great spiritual Armageddons of history. And the supreme issue becomes clearer daily. The clash of national antagonism, the ceaseless fight of Bolshevism for world empire, the incessant flow of materialist civilization dramatize for us this titanic world-shaking clash of two universalisms: "We are moving," he maintains, "toward the hour when we shall see only Christ and Mammon facing each other on earth."

This is an excellent book for young people of the Church to study. Originally the material was used for lectures at Drew University; later they were given at the Boston University School of Theology.

If Mr. Mathews is right, and we believe he is, that the remaking of the world centers to-day round a few very great and outstanding personalities who incarnate the spirit of the new nationalism, then we would dare to add that no man more vitally and vividly interprets Christianity in himself than Albert Schweitzer whose *Albert Schweitzer. The Man and His Work*, by John Dickinson Regester (Abingdon Press; pp. 145, \$1.50), has just been published. Here is one of those rare geniuses, one of those intellectual spiritual giants vouchsafed by God as a tonic when the world begins to go stale.

Twenty years ago the *Quest of the Historical Jesus* startled the world of Christology. Everywhere it was recognized that here in this young German theologian, still under thirty years of age, was a man to be reckoned with. His emphasis—to-day many think an over-emphasis—on the eschatological world view of Jesus and His consequent interim ethic has profoundly affected all subsequent New Testament criticism. Who was this Albert Schweitzer? It was suddenly discovered that he was the most brilliant interpreter of the music of J. S. Bach in Europe. Indeed his great two volumes on Bach published in 1911 are still the standard work on that majestic composer. Then of a sudden the news spread that Dr. Schweitzer (he had at thirty taken a medical degree) had plunged into equatorial Africa as a humble missionary. The dangerous left wing higher critic of German universities was revealed as an ardent missionary of Jesus building with his own hands a little hospital and ministering day after day in the blistering heat to hundreds of primitive blacks. And then presently, after the war, began to appear essays in *The Hibbert Journal*, occasional lectures delivered at Oxford, a book or two revealing the saint smitten like his Master with passionate sympathy with the *Welt-schmerz*. Still more recently from out those stifling nights in the African forest where a tired doctor pens his reflections upon the clash of world forces to-day, there have appeared "The Decay and Restoration of Civilization,"—"Civilization and Ethics,"—"Christianity and the Religions of the World." Schweitzer began his career as a critic of Kant. To-

day he is a competent critic of life. In common with Spengler he is convinced that modern civilization fails to embody features of permanent significance for man and that its decay is in process. Like Inge he rejects the idea of an inexorable evolutionary development which he calls a "despiritualized optimism about reality which has for decades been misleading us." His own solution of the problem is to make up our minds to renounce altogether any optimistic-ethical interpretation of the world and to cultivate a will to preserve and advance all life.

I can think of no more inspiring book for the average readers than this brief thrilling account of one of the greatest Christians of our day.

G. C. S.

*Tradition and Design in the Iliad.* By C. M. Bowra. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1930, pp. ix + 278. \$4.00.

Professor Bowra has surveyed the whole field of Homeric criticism; the origins of the epic, the hexameter, the primitive elements retained in the finished poem, the repetitions and contradictions which to some authors suggest multiple authorship, the similes, the language, the historical background, the characters, Homer's theology and his attitude toward the Heroic Age; and finally, his time and place.

He arrives at the unitarian position. "The Iliad, both in its particular and general aspects, is a profoundly moral story. This scheme of sin and punishment runs through it and holds its parts together. Homer is not a teacher like Æschylus, and he does not preach his views. He takes them largely for granted, and is content to let them be merged in his story. They are important because they make the Iliad tragic in character" (p. 26).

This is precisely the opposite point of view from Gilbert Murray's, according to which the 'Milesian influence' was all but disastrous and transformed a vigorous primitive poem into a cynical and sophisticated *album de chambre*.

In regard to the 'contradictions' Bowra insists that most of them are not examples of incompetence but of highest art. "In

these cases, and in others like them, the poet leads us to expect one thing and then provides another. This is of the very essence of story-telling, and there is no need to doubt it is deliberate and conscious craftsmanship" (p. 102).

The same holds more or less of the similes. "Homer shows the traces of his tradition. The epic poet learned some similes as he learned other stock-lines, and, if these were less appropriate in some places than in others, that was because for the moment he relied more on his training than on his judgment" (p. 119).

As for Homer's language, it is highly artificial, and indeed traditional; and is the work of a long school of epic poets dating back to the time when the Greek dialects were not fully differentiated.

As for Homer's date, some time late in the eighth century best suits what we know of his language and his influence on later Greek poetry; and as for his *Heimath*, Asia Minor is undoubted, and the claim of Chios deserves every consideration.

One feels a real debt of gratitude to Professor Bowra for replacing Homer among the immortals and freeing him from the aspersions of the *Chorizontes*, ancient and modern. It is a beautiful book about a glorious poem and deserves to be placed in the front rank of contemporary studies of Homer. Professor Bowra's volume and Professor Scott's *Unity of Homer* are the leading English works from the unitarian point of view.

FREDERICK S. GRANT.

## NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

### New Testament

*The World of the New Testament.* By T. R. Glover. New York: Macmillan, 1931, pp. 233. \$2.00.

Professor Glover has a genius for making ancient history fascinating. His *Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire* is a most fascinating introduction to that subject. The present volume, comprising lectures delivered in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Massachusetts during the author's visit to this country last year, is an even more elementary introductory work, and will be extremely useful to the general reader and beginner.

There are eight chapters, tracing the general political and intellectual development down to the first century, and giving in the three final chapters a clear and vigorous sketch of 'the Roman Empire,' 'the Hellenistic Town,' and 'the Man of the Empire.'

The author is not primarily interested in philosophy, but in social history. He has only a sketchy acquaintance with the criticism of the Gospels, and little sympathy with present-day work in that field (p. 25). The mystery religions, on the one hand, and Jewish apocalyptic on the other, make little appeal to him (p. 226); he especially dislikes women in athletics (p. 183). Moreover, at last, he lets us into the secret of his style, for he confesses to an admiration for Tertullian, sadly admitting that he is probably the only man living who admires the fierce African (p. 29).

So much for the author's style and personality. The book is one to read and reread. If it were only a little more systematic, one could welcome it as a textbook. As it is, it provides a charming and valuable collateral text for a course in New Testament history. And it will be of real value to the ordinary reader, the 'intelligent layman,' or church-school teacher.

*Die Alten Perikopen.* By Leonhard Fendt. Tübingen: Mohr, 1931, pp. vii + 232. M. 9.00.

This is the 22d volume in Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*. It is an exposition of the Gospels and Epistles for the Christian Year, showing how they may be treated homiletically and devotionally, even after the most thoroughgoing historical and literary criticism has been applied. There is, no doubt, real need for such a book in Germany; there is certainly need for such a book in the English-speaking world.

Too often it is assumed that criticism has done away with the Gospels and the best we can offer is a kind of foot-loose moralizing. On the other hand, even so drastic a method as *Formgeschichte* does not destroy the value of the Gospels. It is only the refiner's fire from which emerges the pure gold

of divine revelation unmixed with the dross of later tradition. Preachers who follow the Christian Year and who read German will find much of suggestion in the present volume.

*The Adventure of Paul of Tarsus.* By H. F. B. Mackay. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1931, pp. 279. \$2.75.

A new life of St. Paul demands some *raison d'être*, and this one has two: its author, the Vicar of All Saints', Margaret Street, widely known through former books; and the spirit of the story, indicated by the word 'adventure' in the title.

The result is a tale of picaresque flavor—a narrative of adventures worthy of Defoe—with little analysis of the Apostle's inner experience, and only slight exposition of his teaching. Local color and personalities are the main interests in the book, and Tarsus, Antioch in Pisidia, Philippi, Barnabas, Silas, Agrippa II and other people and places assume, along with the hero, a new and vivid reality for the reader.

The author's critical guides are Ramsay, Rackham, and Renan (!), and the scholar will find many things to cavil at: to list them would be idle, for the book is not written for scholars. It is a matter for genuine regret, however, when gifted writers do not avail themselves of the best that scholarship can supply; and the life of St. Paul will be no less adventurous and dramatic when the critic has said his last word. L. R.

*Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien.* 8th edition. By Albert Huck. Tübingen: Mohr, 1931, pp. xlvi + 247. M. 8.80.

Those of us who have made use of Huck's *Synopse* during the years since our seminary days have seen a steady growth of the volume, especially of the textual apparatus. The work has met a great need, as is evident from the statement on the title page that this eighth revised and improved edition represents the thirtieth to the thirty-fourth thousand copies. It is one of the best sellers, apparently, in the theological world.

The revision effected in preparing the current edition for the press has been limited to slight improvements, chiefly in the text-critical apparatus. To all intents and purposes the eighth edition is a reprint of the seventh.

*Die Pastoralbriefe.* Ed. by Martin Dibelius. 2d edition. Tübingen: Mohr, 1931, pp. 101. M. 6.00.

The appearance of the second edition of Dr. Dibelius' Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles in Lietzmann's *Handbuch* reminds us not only of the flight of time, but also of the steady progress of New Testament studies. It is eighteen years since the first edition appeared. The work has been brought up to date by the inclusion of references to works which have appeared in the meantime; in English, for example, Dr. Streeter's *Primitive Church*, Harrison's *Pastoral Epistles*, and Ramsay's articles in the *Expositor*. One notices an absence, however, of reference to Parry's work (Cambridge, 1920) and to

Duncan's more recent volume. (Duncan's view is parallel to that which Loewe presents in a German work of which the author takes cognizance.)

Dr. Dibelius has a well-balanced mind, and for the purposes of a series like the *Handbuch*, namely, a collection of material for use in class and in the study, his Commentary is well suited. He presents the evidence for all three views of the *Pastorals*: denial of authenticity, affirmation of authenticity, and recognition of the existence of authentic fragments. The book therefore will be of especial value to teachers—since we cannot assume here in America that students will be sufficiently familiar with German to make much use of it.

It should be added that the author places the *Pastorals* in the center of the stream of developing church life, and draws from them the data they contain for the reconstruction of that development.

*Strange New Gospels.* By Edgar J. Goodspeed. University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. xi + 111. \$2.00.

Dr. Goodspeed has brought the learning and skill which he has for many years devoted to the study of early Christian literature to bear upon the curious contemporary gospels which receive from time to time so much publicity here in America—such as the "Aquarian Gospel," "The Crucifixion of Jesus, by an Eye-Witness," "The Letter of Benan," and so on. Perhaps the book contains all that many persons would care to know about these "gospels," though the work is written in Professor Goodspeed's usual interesting style, and is not laborious to read. On the other hand, this is a most valuable little volume to give to persons who are inclined to accept such modern pseudigrapha without criticism.

#### Church History

*The Conflicts of the Early Church.* By W. D. Niven. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1931, pp. xi + 181. \$2.00.

This does not claim to be precisely a history of early Christianity; but in reality it comes pretty near being as good a one as we have seen in such small compass. In no sense is it a compendium of facts, but rather a scholarly and philosophic interpretation of the development of the Catholic church, of the inevitable adaptation of a living organism to its environment in the Graeco-Roman world. Dr. Niven is equally removed from those who regard primitive Catholicism as already germinally present from the beginning (as if the soil contributed nothing) and from those who, like Harnack or Guignebert, regard the development as a progressive corruption of the Gospel. His judgments on the state of pagan society are singularly restrained; his chapters on Judaism, the Church and the Empire, Gnosticism, Marcion, and Montanism stress just the points which should be emphasized. At a single sitting the reader is able to review the unfolding, throbbing, aspiring life of the Church in its first three centuries and to survey it against its background of classical culture. For those who care to study further there is a select bibliography, excellent so far as it goes, but unaccountably omitting several important works in English, such as Professor Case's *Evolution of Early Christianity*. P. V. N.

*Men of Conviction.* By Henry Bradford Washburn. New York: Scribners, 1931, pp. viii + 250. \$2.50.

Dean Washburn is among those who have made the happy discovery that Church history may be pleasantly and profitably studied in the form of biography, where personality is not obscured by institutions and mass forces. For his Bohlen Lectures of 1931 he has chosen six figures who, however they differ in age, temperament, and historical circumstance, are yet united as sharers in profound religious experience which makes them "men of conviction." They are: S. Athanasius, S. Benedict, Hildebrand, S. Francis, Ignatius Loyola, and Pope Pius IX. In each case the author tells us with clarity, insight, and discriminating sympathy, "in what kind of an age the man lived, what kind of a man he was as he lived in it, and what, in his own way and in the language of his time, he tried to do." It is true biography and not merely psychological analysis. And there is a remarkable amount of Church history compressed into these pages.

Particularly delightful is the introductory chapter—"Autobiographic"—in which Dr. Washburn assesses the essential significance of his six men, and tells us how his study of them—particularly of those whose attitudes he can least share—has widened his horizons and deepened his understanding of the richness and variety of Christian history. It is to be hoped that the volume will encourage many clergymen to attempt courses of popular lectures on heroes of the Faith. Any who may be so moved will find it an excellent methodological guide.

The chapter on Ignatius was first published in this *Review*. P. V. N.

*Florilegium Patristicum.* Fasc. xxviii. *S. Anselmi Epistola de Incarnatione Verbi.* Ed. by F. S. Schmitt. Bonn: Hanstein, 1931, pp. 40. M. 1.80.

The firm of Hanstein in Bonn continue to provide a very excellent selection of Patristic and Scholastic texts for the use of students, cheap in price and excellent in quality not only typographically but textually. A number of other excellent tractates are in preparation and are soon to appear.

*Vie de S. François d'Assise.* By Paul Sabatier. Édition définitive. Paris: Fischbacher, 1931, pp. li + 580. Fr. 50.

*Paul Sabatier (1858-1928). Notes biographiques.* By Gabriel Maugain.

*Bibliographie complète.* By Henri Lemaitre. Paris: Fischbacher, 1931, pp. 28.

For many years Sabatier had looked forward to a thorough revision of his great work on St. Francis. Again and again the undertaking was deferred, pending the completion of other Franciscan studies in which he was engaged. Then came his death, three years ago. The "definitive edition" before us is not, in consequence, the contemplated revision, but rather the edition of 1918. It is a matter of regret that the gifted author was not spared to put into literary form the rich fruitage of his thirty years' companionship with *Il Poverello*. However, the notes and memoranda made for the *Nouvelle Vie*

have been placed in the competent hands of Arnold Goffin and will presently be published by Fischbacher under the title *Études inédits sur saint François*.

P. V. N.

*The American Communion Service: its Order and History.* By John Brett Langstaff. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1931, pp. xx + 246. \$2.50.

Twelve years ago the Oxford University Press published *The Holy Communion in Great Britain and America*, the work of an American priest trained under Canon Brightman. The volume received favorable attention in England, but hitherto has not been so well known in this country as it deserves to be. Now, taking advantage of the interest aroused by our recent Prayer Book revision, it is republished in an American edition under an altered title. To the original text, reprinted from the plates of 1919, the author has added a brief introductory chapter summarizing the changes made in the Communion service in the course of the revision just completed. The three main sections tell popularly, and for the most part accurately, the story of the Liturgy in England, down to the Restoration; in Scotland, to the Book of 1764; and in America, to the revision of 1892. By an ingenious typographical arrangement the evolution and modification of the three rites is exhibited, so that one may compare at a glance the texts of 1549 and 1662 (English), of 1552 and 1764 (Scottish), or of 1662 and 1892 (American). The purpose of this unique and useful device is to show the changes through which the Communion service has passed since the first use of the Prayer Book in the three countries. The volume will doubtless prove valuable to students of liturgics or of Anglican Church history. But unfortunately it is not quite up to date as far as Scotland and America are concerned. P. V. N.

#### Systematic Theology

*The Significance of Personality.* By Richard M. Vaughan. New York: Macmillan, 1930, pp. viii + 302. \$2.50.

Prof. Vaughan starts his book by defining his philosophical position as a type of personal idealism. In personality, or man's selfhood, he finds the key to the nature of God, the world of nature and the individual's relation to nature, to the social order, and to God. From this point of view he reviews the familiar concepts of theology in a way that is fresh and suggestive, though the theology of the book keeps close to the more conservative tradition of present day Protestantism.

His thinking and writing is clear and vigorous and one feels that his theology follows logically from his philosophical position. Prof. Vaughan knows where he stands, both in theology and philosophy. His trumpet gives no uncertain sound. His optimism and assurance are refreshing in a day like the present one in which there is so much theological and philosophical uncertainty. C. L. S.

*The Growth of the Idea of God.* By Shailer Mathews. Macmillan, 1931, pp. xiii + 237. \$2.50.

In substance this new work by the Dean of the University of Chicago Divinity School represents a series of Lectures delivered at the Ohio State College in the spring of 1930. It makes no attempt to investigate origins but confines itself strictly—perhaps too strictly—to development, mainly on the lines of what the author calls 'social patterns.'

As to primitive conceptions of God Dr. Mathews has little or nothing to say, sending us in this case to the specialists. But he gives us an excellent chapter on Hebrew conceptions of God, following the social and political 'patterns' successively evolved in the history of the chosen people. A less complete treatment follows of the monotheism made possible through the metaphysical discussions of the Greeks and the political experiences of the Romans. The development of Christian theology is sympathetically sketched from the same point of view, and the book concludes with two important chapters—the most constructive in the entire volume—on 'New Theistic Patterns' and on 'A Contemporary God.'

Dr. Mathews' conclusion is that "God is our conception, born of social experience, of the personality-producing and personally responsive elements of our cosmic environment with which we are organically related." Thus stated, the definition seems a little academic, but it contains the substance of the author's thesis. There is throughout plenty for the thoughtful and the book is saved from being 'transcendentalised politics' by the clear enunciation of the truth that for the Christian theology, to-day as yesterday, is all 'chaptered-up' in Christ.

The volume is well printed and free from typographical errors. The only ones noted are the substitution of *Barak* for *Balak* on p. 49 and *nights* for *knights* on p. 167. H. H. G.

#### Practical Theology

*American Society: Interpretations of Educational and Other Forces.* By Charles Franklin Thwing. New York: Macmillan, 1931, pp. ix + 271. \$2.25.

For a quarter of a century and more the venerable President Emeritus of Western Reserve University has been a competent interpreter of American life to our kinsfolk in the mother-land. The eleven essays making up this volume were originally published in the *Hibbert Journal*, all but one during or after the great war—the last not more than a year ago. They are discriminating, thought-provoking, wholesomely critical yet optimistic. They are such as perhaps could be written only by one who had lived long without growing old. The American reader will find them crammed with sage reflection. Their style is as delightful as their content is weighty. By some it may be objected that Dr. Thwing is too much obsessed by the New England Puritan tradition, to the relative ignoring of our southern culture. P. V. N.

*As in Times Past: an Anglican Defence and Vindication of Our Catholic Inheritance.* By Harold Heath Firkins. With a letter from the Bishop of Bloemfontein. London: Faith Press; Milwaukee: Morehouse, pp. ix + 74. \$0.40.

A native priest in South Africa, much disturbed by the usual Roman Catholic calumnies against our branch of the Church, opens his heart to Rev. John Bull, who in conversation and letters sets his perplexities at rest. Clergymen will find this a very effective little book to put into the hands of members of their flock similarly confused. It costs little and states our case well. P. V. N.

*Romanism and Truth. Part II. The Struggle Against Common-Sense.* By G. G. Coulton. London: The Faith Press; Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1931, pp. ix + 388. \$3.00.

This volume adds one more to Dr. Coulton's many works of anti-Roman propaganda. It contains some very telling chapters (e.g., the one concerning the Index), many damaging facts, which are accurately, and lengthily, set forth. But Dr. Coulton should realise that many readers are tired of hearing again and again and again about what Dr. Coulton wrote to such-and-such a Father, and what the Father wrote (or more often did not write) in reply. We are glad to hear in his Preface, that after one more volume he hopes to conclude controversy of this kind. His contributions to Monastic History are so great that it is a profound pity that he has spent time and effort over this sort of controversy at all. W. F. W.

*The Minister's Week-Day Challenge.* By Edwin H. Byington. Richard Smith, 1931, pp. v + 229. \$2.00.

Dr. Byington is professor of homiletics and liturgics in Gordon School of Theology and Missions, Boston. This volume completes a trilogy of which the two other volumes are entitled *Pulpit Mirrors* and *The Quest for Experience in Worship*. The background of these books is a ministry of over forty years in various pastorates and in fields very unlike—a mission church among fishermen and farmers; two chapels in the outskirts of a growing city; a work in the tenement district of a great metropolis; a church in a manufacturing center and another in a delightful suburb.

As the first book dealt specifically with preaching and the second with worship, so this one is a study of pastoral relationships. It is full of plain shrewd practical helpful observations drawn from a rich experience. The chapters on "Facing Finances," "Recognizing Business Relations," and "Spiritualizing the Six Days," are especially valuable. G. C. S.

*The Weekly Sermon.* Sermons on the Portion of the Week, and for Holidays and Festivals. By Julius Berger. Bloch Publishing Co., 1931, pp. viii + 295. \$2.50.

These sermons fall far below the level of expectation set by the cover "blurb" which announces Rabbi Berger as "one of the best known and popular

Jewish preachers in Canada." The late Rabbi Hirsch of Chicago, Rabbi Stephen Wise of New York, and Rabbi Silver have taught us to expect great sermons from the synagogue. The sermons in this volume are hasty, sketchy, and rather dull little homilies on ancient texts.

Rabbi Braunstern of Columbia University has recently complained that "Christian scholars often fail to reckon with the contemporaneity of the Jewish faith and people."—Our complaint of these sermons is just that—they lack a sense of contemporaneity and convey no glowing sense of the demands of modern life for a restatement of those ancient and noble ideals which are embedded in the Jewish sacred literature. G. C. S.

*With the Door Open.* By J. Anker Larsen, translated from the German by Erwin and Pleasanna Van Gaisberg. Macmillan, 1931, pp. 111. \$1.50.

Here is a contemporary mystic who has found his way into the Other, into reality, and in whose mouth old words are given new birth. Once more it is shown that such high privilege belongs not to the scholarly nor even always to the saintly but to those who have the spirit of the child. This little book is a refreshing reminder that an awareness of an abiding eternity is possible in the midst of daily interests and activities and that it can be in ordinary men an ever flowing fountain that keeps life fresh and sweet.

Here is a man who enjoys this "Eternal Now"; who has cultivated a capacity shared by all of us for experiencing the eternal and for draining from that experience a quiet abiding peace and joy. And as he well says,—"he who converts existence into being has nothing more to do with life and earth. The Eternal is and it is sufficient for me to know that."

The book is not definitely Christian, but it is soaked in the atmosphere from which the Master's words on eternal life were spoken, and should be welcomed and enjoyed by Christian and non-Christian alike. G. C. S.

*Jesus as a Friend.* By George Stewart. Richard Smith, 1931, pp. ix + 156. \$1.50.

These sermons by a well known preacher—the author of *The Incarnation in our Street*, *The Crucifixion in our Street*, *The Resurrection in our Street*—are short, bright, reverent, but superficial. This author belongs to a group of contemporary preachers who are popular without being distinguished, and clever without being great. He never gets down to the depths of any subject treated, but he does glide pleasantly along upon surfaces, and he carries with him a brisk cheery air of being up and doing with a heart for any fate. G. C. S.

*Be of Good Cheer.* By W. P. G. McCormick. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930, pp. x + 100. \$1.00.

This small volume by the vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London, has for its central theme the joy of the Christian religion. Twelve years in South Africa, four years as a war chaplain, and ten years in a busy London parish have given the author a broad experience and a knowledge and sympathy

with all sorts and conditions of men of which he makes good use in these addresses.

Christian joy is no mere superficial optimism—it is a joy that can understand the sorrow and suffering and pain that is in the world, and encompass them and triumph over them. The book is convincing because the author clearly is writing out of the depths of a very real personal experience. C. L. S.

*A Country Parson Looks at Religion.* By Harold Adye Prichard. Harper, 1931, pp. xi + 282. \$2.25.

A theological library recently considered whether this book should be added to its references on rural church work. That was a possibility neither author nor publishers had in mind when they selected the above title. The author is the rector of the church in the attractive outlying suburb of New York called Mt. Kisco. He has made good use of his location in a quiet and peaceable place to reflect on the state of religion with some detachment and to speak with a freedom which he finds more possible in such a post. Canon Prichard writes as an outspoken liberal or modernist, but he is no academic liberal. He is what would be called in England a liberal evangelical. If he is impatient with traditional dogmas, with creeds and institutions, that is because he wants to free his Gospel from what he considers encumbrances. Looking out on the world from the quiet of his rectory garden he sees mankind in a bad way for lack of a simple personal religion such as they might learn from Jesus and the Bible and a simpler Church. He believes that men are held back from the possession of such a religion by the traditionalism and formalism and rigidity which they find, or think they find, in the churches. The book is written as a modest contribution to the cause of a more simple and free presentation of the religion of Jesus. It consists of twelve chapters dealing with God, the Bible, the Church, the Sacraments, the Creeds, etc. The essays are informal, readable and simple. Catholics and conservatives will not like them. Liberals, clerical and lay, will find much that voices their own outlook. All will agree that here is a thoroughly sincere and humble man who seeks to make God more real to men and feels deeply the perplexities of the modern man. A. D.

*Studies in Power.* By Henry M. Edwards. Cokesbury Press, 1931, pp. 216. \$1.75.

Charlemagne, Vladimir, Genghis Khan, Joan of Arc, William the Conqueror, Richard Cœur de Leon, Philip II,—and then by a great leap—Washington and Franklin, Lincoln and Lee, Roosevelt and Wilson;—and by a swift flight Paul the Apostle and Jesus of Nazareth, these are the subjects of a dozen chapters loosely and carelessly written on some of the world's great personalities. The style of treatment is what one might call the late Methodist-Preacher-Chautauqua style, superficial, sentimental, bombastic, popular. The proof reading is bad: *e.g.*, Charlemagne (on page 16) held a council of the Franks in 1772 (!). The interpretation is bad: *e.g.*, it is a little thick to

announce that "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ was not the God whom Philip II served." The sentimentalism is awful: *e.g.*, "Let a man shake down the universe in his pan and the last particle that remains is the gold of love. Then let him take that particle and hold it up. It is beautiful."

The concluding chapter on Jesus is the feeblest chapter in the book. G. C. S.

*My Own Yesterdays.* By Charles Reynolds Brown. Century Co., 1931, pp. ix + 332. \$2.00.

The best book on preaching we know is "The Art of Preaching" by Dean Brown of Yale. He has more homely common sense, more quiet wisdom, more saving humour, more humanness than any other man in the field of homiletics. This is an autobiography but no ordinary one. It is rather a series of snap-shots in a varied life, written, as the author says, "about a man with two talents, an ordinary man who has been neither very rich nor very poor, neither as wise as Solomon, nor a dunce, neither a finished saint nor a rascal. Just an ordinary man!"

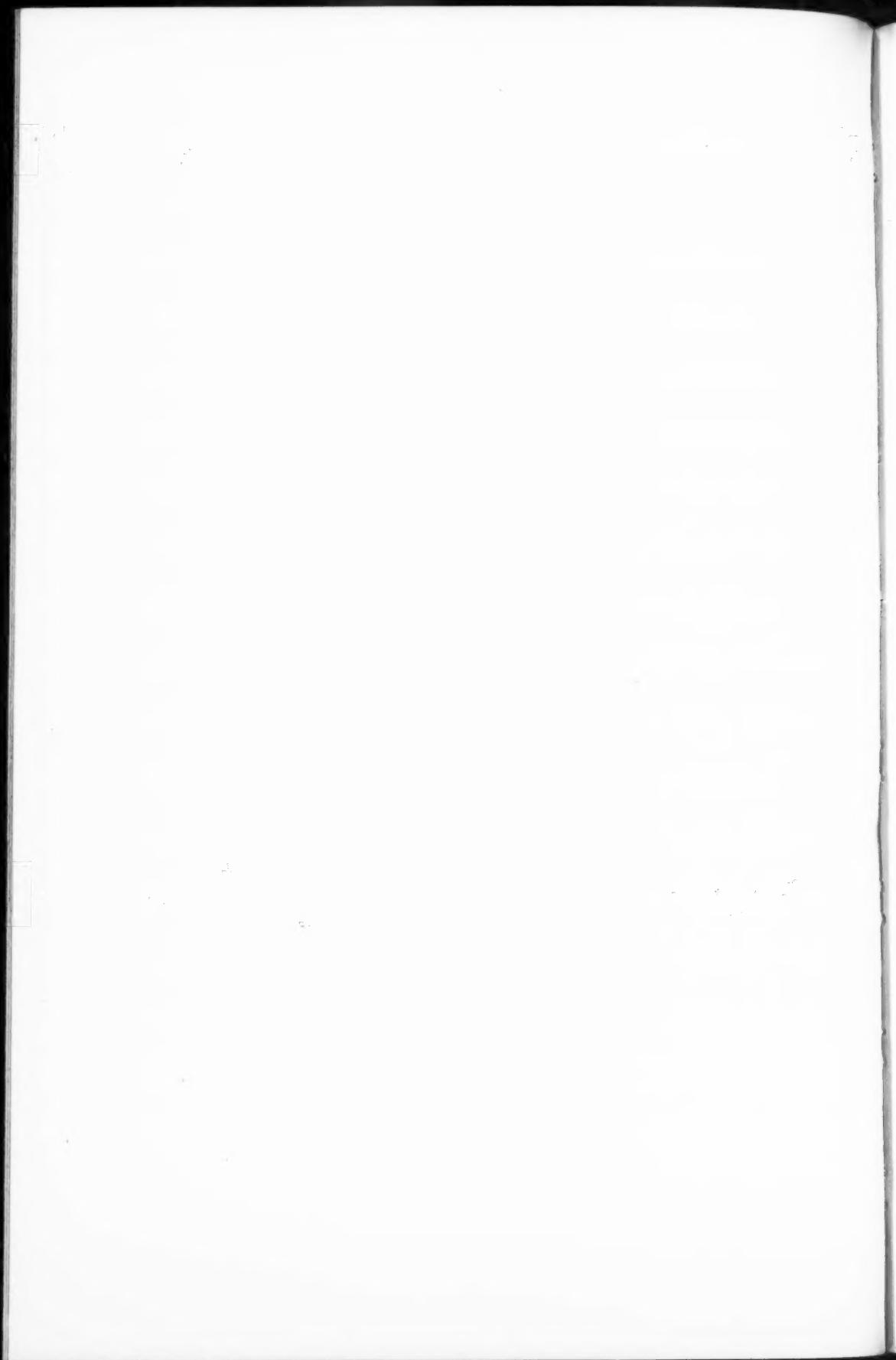
Dean Brown writes as he speaks—charmingly. It is always sheer delight to listen to him. He has written thirty books, many of which we have read, and has always left this effect on us:—"I'd like to know that man!" In this autobiography you come to know him, his boyhood, his college days, his early ministry, his leadership at Yale, his contacts with youth, his outlook upon life. It is a book as full of sunshine and ozone and sweet odours as a camp in the Adirondacks. G. C. S.

*Believing Youth.* By Homer W. Starr. Morehouse, 1931, pp. 98. \$1.25.

Dr. Starr has done us a great service by producing this "cheering experiment in creative teaching." It is a thoroughly scientific study of the point of view of the youth of our day on religious questions, based upon data secured in many conferences and classes. The book, as John W. Suter, Jr., says in his introduction, is "pervaded by sincerity and suffused with insight." It is a human document, not the work of a pedant. All educators and lovers of youth will rejoice in its realism and applaud its spirit of honest adventure for truth. G. C. S.

*Things Most Surely Believed.* By Clarence Edward Macartney. Cokesbury Press, 1931, pp. 195. \$1.50.

Dr. Macartney is one of the leading fundamentalists of the day, one of the storm centres of controversy in the Presbyterian Church. He represents the ultra-conservative wing in a body which is itself traditionally conservative. This book of sermons on the Apostle's Creed is just what one would expect from Dr. Macartney,—solid, earnest, sincere, but amazingly obscurantist and reactionary. It includes a good deal which is most surely *not* believed by modern Christians who yet regard themselves as orthodox and staunchly loyal to "the faith once for all delivered to the saints." G. C. S.



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